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COMEDY

VOLUME VI

Autobiography in the Early Eighteenth Century

(1660—1750)

COLLEY CIBBER

INCLUDING THE SELF-REVELATIONS OF

COLLEY CIBBER, sixteenth and theatre manager; DUKE DE SAINT SIMON, the haughty critic of [illegible] LUDVIG HOLBERG, founder of Danish culture; MOHAMMED ALI HAZIN, Persian poet and patriot; and BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, chief of American philosophers

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY BY

JOHN G. HIBBEN

President of Princeton University

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INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME VI

AUTOBIOGRAPHY IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1690—1750

THE closing years of the seventeenth century and the early part of the eighteenth saw a state of affairs in Europe very different from that of the preceding generation. When in the 1660's Samuel Pepys chatted about his England, he depicted a people weary with the overstrain of the great Puritan religious movement, anxious only for peace, ready to resign their country's place as the world-champion of Protestanism, and to become the paid allies of Louis XIV, the "Magnificent" French monarch who was dominating Europe. But when, a generation later, Colley Cibber, the noted London theater manager, opened his almost equally gay and gossipy chronicle of the closing days of the century, he prattled of a very different world.

In 1680 Louis XIV proclaimed himself the champion of Catholicism by passing an edict expelling all the French Protestants from his kingdom. He thereby broke the respite from religious controversy which King Henry IV had secured to France, and which had been one main source of her growing strength throughout the century. In 1689 Prince William of Orange, the Dutch ruler who had warred all his life against the aggressions of King Louis, became King William III of Great Britain. With this increase of power he succeeded in marshaling almost all the rest of Europe against the French king. Then followed battle after battle in which the great British general Marlborough won his famous victories. The supremacy which France had been extending over Europe was broken, and her power was crushed. When the renowned King Louis died in 1715, he had outlived all his glory. We meet him in this volume in the memoirs of one of his chief nobles, the Duc de Saint Simon; but we meet him as an old

and broken man, feeble and almost despised, wholly unlike the gorgeous Louis shown in our preceding volume.

We must think of the France of these years therefore as sunk into a state of temporary decay, as beginning a long period during which she was virtually ruled by women, by king's favorites rather than by kings. Madame Maintenon, to whom Louis in his old age was privately married, was the first of these rulers who thus stood "behind the throne" but very palpably visible there to all men's eyes. The memoirs of Saint Simon thus serve as a sort of companion picture or supplement to those of De Grammont and the Princess Sophia in the preceding period, just as those formed a continuation to the tale begun by Marguerite of Valois and by Sully under King Henry IV. Saint Simon's work is highly treasured in France. It is however, like Sully's narrative, so much more historical than personal that it tells us too little of Saint Simon, the man.

This is much to be regretted because what little we can gather of Saint Simon is as interesting as it is typical. In him we have the true French great duke, a magnificent study in pompous hauteur. Indeed in Sully, Grammont, and Saint Simon, we meet the three main types of ancient French aristocrat. A modern man might well feel himself at home with Sully, the minister of Henry IV, though Sully was the earliest of the three; for his shrewdness, his far vision, his practical acceptance of things as they are and his meeting them by practical measures, all these are modern. So too are his enthusiasms, restrained but none the less intense. But Saint Simon, with his overweening pride of place, his eternal assumption that of course the world was made wholly for him and the few others of his rank, his utter inability to see anything outside his own circle, or even to act with any real effectiveness for the preservation of that position he so highly valued, Saint Simon hardly seems to us human. He is so exactly like the fly at the top of the chariot wheel crying out "My, what a dust I make!" It would be hard to say whether the well-meaning arrogance of men like Saint Simon did not do more even than the reckless profligacy of the Grammonts to drive the French populace into the frenzy of their final Revolution.

In the present volume then, we see France on the downward grade, and England on the rise. Marlborough's victories made the London court of Queen Anne one of splendor; and after Anne's reign the throne fell to her German cousin of Hanover as King George, a descendant of that Princess Sophia of Hanover whom we have already met. Colley Cibber, the witty, capable theater manager, knew both these sovereigns of Britain, and estimates them shrewdly, as he estimates all his contemporaries, in his delightful autobiography. With him we get our first intimate view of theatrical life. We wish indeed that in an earlier generation some one of Shakespeare's managers had been moved to write some such minutely detailed sketch of theatrical conditions as we get in Cibber's "Apology." Thackeray tells us that much of that keen knowledge of Queen Anne's age which he has painted in his novels, was gleaned from the pages of Colley Cibber. Whimsical, flippant, gay and shrewd, Cibber makes a charming successor to Samuel Pepys.

During this period we are also enabled to extend our autobiographical reading beyond Western Europe. We find a Persian writing of his own life, the teacher and poet, Mohammed Ali Hazin. That a Persian scholar should once more have been able, should once more have cared, to set down and to preserve the story of his life marks a great change and improvement in the condition of mankind in Western Asia. When the Turks had conquered Asia and burst into Europe in the fifteenth century, they had been ignorant barbarians. But they had proven able to appreciate somewhat at least of the higher values of the arts. Both in architecture and in poetry they developed an art of their own; and while scholarship under them still consisted mainly of a minute study of Mohammed's Koran, yet their poets became highly prized and honored. The Persian genius, so repeatedly crushed and trampled under foot by barbaric conquerors, began to bloom once more. Ali Hazin was not the only Eastern poet of his day; indeed his life reveals to us a social organism in the East not unlike that which in medieval days had produced the earlier autobiographers Avicenna and Al Ghazali.

Hazin wandered from city to city through the East, and if he found much bloodshed, he found also much idle pleasure.

Wherever a prince would honor him, there he journeyed. Hence he wrote and taught in many minor courts, until a new conqueror arose to subjugate the little Persian states. Hazin spoke for their independence, satirized their foe, and when the conquest was completed had to flee to India, where he wrote down the story of his life. You will find in it a wholly new field of reading, a knowledge and a life strangely foreign to our own.

To this period belongs also the earliest Danish autobiography, that of Count Lewis Holberg. His title of count must not mislead us into placing him in the aristocratic class with Grammont and Saint Simon. Holberg was a poor boy who by hard study made his way to be a teacher, a university professor, a successful writer, and was finally knighted by his government for his services to literature. He is in fact regarded as the creator of modern Danish literature, which was so little read before his time, so nearly non-existent that, to find an audience at all, he had at first to write in other tongues. His own life, for example, he wrote in Latin.

That "life" displays in most revealing fashion the barbarism of the Denmark of his day, the crudity of lives devoted almost wholly to the pleasures of eating and drinking. The isolation which the first gleams of intelligent care and restraint for one's own body could bring down upon a man, the scornful resentment meted out to Holberg by his guzzling countrymen, seems almost incredible.

Nor are Holberg's vehement and contemptuous pictures restricted to Danish life. He traveled much, and traveled one would almost say, as do some later tourists, for the express purpose of finding fault. If he thinks his own capital of Copenhagen bad, Germany seems to him worse, Paris worse still, and Italy foul beyond all measure. A sturdy old fighter was Holberg at every turn. The modern reader, safe against his assaults, must much enjoy the humor of his cantankerous company. Especially did anything supernatural in religion appear anathema to him; and his furious arguments against the reputed miracles of which he hears in every Catholic country may raise a smile to-day, but they have their tragic side as well. The world was a hard living-place for a thinking, independent, boorish Dane of those days; and Holberg wins

sympathy from us rather than disgust. So must uncouth, reforming Titans ever fight their way.

Another half-chained Titan, not wholly unlike Holberg, though of far mightier power, fought also in those days. This was our own Ben Franklin. To Americans at least, Franklin's autobiography seems the most famous in the world. Here was a mere frontiersman, an inhabitant of a colony scarce known to Europe, and as little to be expected to be a center of scholarship and learning as the most remote Alaskan settlement of our day. Yet in this far off barbarous settlement of Pennsylvania there arose a scientist who made discoveries in electricity which astounded the world, a gentleman who when he visited the courts of Europe set them new standards of a truly kindly consideration for others, a diplomat who outmaneuvered their wiliest statesmen. Is it any wonder that Americans were, and still are, proud of Franklin?

Yet when we turn to his autobiography we find there other and perhaps even more permanent claims to fame. He was a practical man whose calm common sense was always alert to see what might best be done. Unlike his contemporary, Holberg, he never lost his temper with humanity. He may give our weaknesses an occasional quick sarcastic jibe; but he loves us all the time. His essential kindliness forever dominates his satire.

Hence it is that a hundred, nay a thousand, aphorisms have been culled from Franklin's work. He is quoted almost as an American Bible; for his is the spirit of the American race. He is practical, far-sighted, strong, eager indeed to improve the weaknesses of the world, but noting them with the joy of one who looks forward to a good, vigorous effort and a triumphant victory, rather than the bitterness of one too often beaten in the fight. If one were asked to name the single book whose study would do most to make a typical American, he would assuredly name the Autobiography of Franklin.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

By John G. Hibben, Ph.D., LL.D.

Benjamin Franklin's memoirs appeared originally in the form of a letter to his son. Later this work was published under the title of,—*Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography.* It is a matter of interest to note that the word "autobiography" did not come into usage until the 19th century. These memoirs of Franklin's unfortunately are incomplete, but sufficient not only to give us an idea of the main facts of his life, but also to reveal the spirit of the man as well. There are three main phases of his nature which particularly arrest our attention and interest,—the man of science, the philosopher and the patriot. Through his early love of nature and his insatiable curiosity to learn the fundamental causes of things, Franklin illustrates the finer spirit of all knowledge. He is importunate in his demands to wrest from nature her hidden secrets. Many centuries ago Aristotle remarked that even among wise men "some persons are aware of the cause and some are not. The latter know through mere experience that a thing is so;—but others, I mean the scientific, are acquainted with the wherefore of things and the cause." To this latter class Franklin belonged by natural right.

He met the test of the highest type of scientific thought in his ability to suggest problems for solution as well as to solve those that were suggested to him. He had rare inventive genius as well and was able to apply his theoretical knowledge of nature to the practical needs of everyday life. His chief concern was the advancement of learning for the sake of human welfare and human security.

He was also a philosopher, and imbued with the philosophical spirit he not only sought the causes of the phenomena of nature, but the causes also of the phenomena of human nature. He believed that the complex and intimate relations of man

to man could be reduced to their simplest elements, and that the growth of mind as well as of character was due in all cases to established laws of causation, and that with untiring investigation and careful formulation these laws of human nature could be precisely expressed. This he set for himself as his especial task. His homely wisdom was so expressed as to be capable always of universal application. He sounded the depths of human nature, and expressed his knowledge of man, both man's vigor and man's frailty, in his inimitable way through those striking proverbs which have become a permanent possession of the race. In them there is found Franklin's philosophy of life. The proverb like the mathematical formula expresses much in little. It condenses thought of far reaching significance and of an unlimited scope of application, within the smallest conceivable compass. In the use of the proverb as a form of concentrated wisdom, Franklin showed a consummate skill.

Franklin as a patriotic citizen appeals to us probably in these troublous times more strongly than in any other light. Through his political career he had an intense love of the mother country and maintained an unqualified loyalty to the home government in England. When the difficulties first began to arise between the American Colonies and England he endeavored to remain pro-American as well as pro-British. He worked incessantly, diligently but withal futilely for harmony, for the preservation of peace and the restoration of a complete understanding between the two countries, based upon a spirit of mutual forbearance and mutual trust. And yet when finally the issue was so sharply drawn that the break with England was inevitable, Franklin did not hesitate. His action at that time may be a help to-day to many of our citizens who have been compelled to choose in their allegiance between their fatherland across the sea and the traditions of a hallowed past on the one hand and on the other the present commanding duty which they owe to the land of their adoption. Franklin's heart was almost broken when he had to make the decision to throw in his lot with the rising colonies and their fight for freedom, and yet he bravely made the choice. It was a choice both of his mind and of his heart. He had no misgivings, no backward glances.

Moreover during all of Franklin's life he was essentially a man of peace. We would in this day speak of him as a pronounced pacifist, and yet when the Colonies were forced into war to defend their own rights and freedom, his patriotic spirit did not falter; the choice of peace without honor was to him an impossible one. The words of Sainte Beuve in his admirable essay on Franklin give us a striking picture of a patriot who loved his country better than the ease and comfort of peace:

"This judicious, firm, acute, intelligent, honest man will be immovable when injustice shall touch himself and his countrymen. He will do everything for years together to enlighten public opinion in the mother country, and avert extreme measures; up to the last moment, he will exert himself to bring about a reconciliation founded on equity; one day, when an influential Englishman (Lord Howe) lets him cherish hopefulness on the very eve of the rupture, a tear of joy will be seen to wet his cheek: but, when injustice hardens itself and obstinate pride stops its ears, he will be transported with the purest and most invincible of passions; and he who thinks that *every peace is good,* and that *every war is bad,* will then be for war, for the holy war of a patriotic and legitimate defense."

Such was the fire of patriotism in Franklin's spirit, slowly kindling, but breaking at last into a flame of light and of heat. The present-day pacifists will do well to heed his counsel and follow his example. The issue of the present is the same as in Franklin's day. It is the war of democracy against might which drives its cruel purpose forward upon the principle that necessity knows no law, and which has no regard for its pledged word nor treaty obligation, nor "a decent respect to the opinion of mankind." Thus Franklin becomes a prophet not only of his day and generation, but of these latter times as well.

COLLEY CIBBER

THE GAYEST OF COXCOMBS AND THE LEADING THEATRICAL MANAGER OF HIS DAY

1671-1757

(INTRODUCTORY NOTE)

Some one has said that there are more "peacock memoirs" in the world than any other sort, which may be true or not, according to your viewpoint. Many might classify Cibber's amusing autobiography under this head, and if they do we wish to point out that his preening has the added distinction of sincerity and sense under the vainglorious pose.

The reputation of Colley Cibber suffers much because Pope made him the hero of the "Dunciad," and the Great Cham of Literature, Dr. Johnson, flung scorn upon him and his poetic pretensions. But outside of such harsh and prejudiced critics (Cibber had had a violent quarrel with Pope, and was made "poet laureate" to the utter disgust of Johnson), the sprightly actor-manager of Drury Lane was not disliked by his contemporaries, and was not lacking in wit and fine feeling. He may have been a coxcomb, but he was not a blockhead. That he was vain and flippant, we cannot deny. Yet he was certainly clever, though Pope and Johnson would make him out a fool.

Cibber had a prolific pen for the writing of plays. Of them all, the "Careless Husband" (1705) is considered the best. In his dramas the characters are usually insipid, the plots forced, and his dialogue is marred by constant flippancy and an effort at *double entendre*. As a dramatist he will not bear comparison with his contemporaries Vanbrugh, Congreve and Farquhar. Nevertheless, he was a leading figure in theatrical London for more than thirty years. He severed his connection with the stage when he became poet laureate, succeeding Eusden in that enviable position.

Of Cibber's "Odes" Dr. Johnson has been a scathing but just critic for posterity. His reshaping for the stage of Shakespeare's "Richard III" was highly successful, and a better service to the public than his attempts at poetry. But his best work is the "Apology for His Life," which we give below. In it will be found a fund of amusement mingled with shrewd and sane dramatic criticism, and excellent portraits of his

thespian associates and their various abilities. He was not insensible to their histrionic talents, and gave them their due without stint.

The autobiography appeared in his sixty-ninth year (1740). When he was seventy-four he returned to the stage as "Panulph" in his mediocre tragedy of "Papal Tyranny." On the whole, he was a fair comedian, though on one occasion, as he himself records, a candid actor friend said to him: "Young man, your play is a good one; and it will succeed, if you do not spoil it by your acting."

AN APOLOGY FOR THE LIFE OF MR. COLLEY CIBBER

CHAPTER I

You know, sir, I have often told you, that one time or other I should give the public some memoirs of my own life; at which you have never fail'd to laugh, like a friend, without saying a word to dissuade me from it; concluding, I suppose, that such a wild thought could not possibly require a serious answer. But you see I was in earnest. And now you will say, the world will find me, under my own hand, a weaker man than perhaps I may have pass'd for, even among my enemies.—With all my heart! my enemies will then read me with pleasure, and you, perhaps, with envy, when you find that follies, without the reproach of guilt upon them, are not inconsistent with happiness.—But why make my follies public? Why not? I have pass'd my time very pleasantly with them, and I don't recollect that they have ever been hurtful to any other man living. Even admitting they were injudiciously chosen, would it not be vanity in me to take shame to myself for not being found a wise man? Really, sir, my appetites were in too much haste to be happy, to throw away my time in pursuit of a name I was sure I could never arrive at.

Now the follies I frankly confess, I look upon as, in some measure, discharged; while those I conceal are still keeping the account open between me and my conscience. To me the fatigue of being upon a continual guard to hide them, is more than the reputation of being without them can repay. If this be weakness, *defendit numerus,* I have such comfortable numbers on my side, that were all men to blush that are

not wise, I am afraid, in ten, nine parts of the world ought to be out of countenance. But since that sort of modesty is what they don't care to come into, why should I be afraid of being star'd at, for not being particular? Or if the particularity lies in owning my weakness, will my wisest reader be so inhuman as not to pardon it? But if there should be such a one, let me, at least, beg him to shew me that strange man who is perfect! Is any one more unhappy, more ridiculous, than he who is always laboring to be thought so, or that is impatient when he is not thought so? Having brought myself to be easy, under whatever the world may say of my undertaking, you may still ask me, why I give myself all this trouble? Is it for fame or profit to myself, or use or delight to others? For all these considerations I have neither fondness nor indifference. If I obtain none of them, the amusement, at worst, will be a reward that must constantly go along with the labor. But behind all this, there is something inwardly exciting, which I cannot express in few words; I must therefore a little make bold with your patience.

A man who has pass'd above forty years of his life upon a theater, where he has never appear'd to be himself, may have naturally excited the curiosity of his spectators to know what he really was, when in nobody's shape but his own; and whether he, who by his profession had so long been ridiculing his benefactors, might not, when the coat of his profession was off, deserve to be laugh'd at himself; or from his being often seen in the most flagrant and immoral characters; whether he might not see as great a rogue, when he look'd into the glass himself, as when he held it to others.

It was doubtless from a supposition that this sort of curiosity wou'd compensate their labors, that so many hasty writers have been encourag'd to publish the lives of the late Mrs. Oldfield, Mr. Wilks, and Mr. Booth, in less time after their deaths than one could suppose it cost to transcribe them.

Now, sir, when my time comes, lest they should think it worth while to handle my memory with the same freedom, I am willing to prevent its being so oddly besmear'd (or at best but flatly white-wash'd) by taking upon me to give the public this, as true a picture of myself as natural vanity will permit me to draw. For, to promise you that I shall never be vain,

were a promise that, like a looking-glass too large, might break itself in the making. Nor am I sure I ought wholly to avoid that imputation, because if vanity be one of my natural features, the portrait would not be like me without it. In a word, I may palliate, and soften, as much as I please; but upon an honest examination of my heart, I am afraid the same vanity which makes even homely people employ painters to preserve a flattering record of their persons, has seduced me to print off this chiaro oscuro of my mind.

And when I have done it, you may reasonably ask me, of what importance can the history of my private life be to the public? To this, indeed, I can only make you a ludicrous answer, which is, that the public very well knows my life has not been a private one; that I have been employed in their service, ever since many of their grandfathers were young men; and though I have voluntarily laid down my post, they have a sort of right to inquire into my conduct (for which they have so well paid me) and to call for the account of it, during my share of administration in the state of the theater. This work, therefore, which, I hope, they will not expect a man of hasty head shou'd confine to any regular method (for I shall make no scruple of leaving my history, when I think a digression may make it lighter for my reader's digestion), this work, I say, shall not only contain the various impressions of my mind (as in Louis the Fourteenth his cabinet you have seen the growing medals of his person from infancy to old age), but shall likewise include with them the theatrical history of my own time, from my first appearance on the stage to my last exit.

If, then, what I shall advance on that head may anyways contribute to the prosperity or improvement of the stage in being, the public must of consequence have a share in its utility.

This, sir, is the best apology I can make for being my own biographer. Give me leave therefore to open the first scene of my life, from the very day I came into it; and though (considering my profession) I have no reason to be asham'd of my original; yet I am afraid a plain dry account of it will scarce admit of a better excuse than what my brother Bayes makes for Prince Prettyman in the *Rehearsal*, viz.: "I only do it,

for fear I should be thought to be nobody's son at all;" for if I have led a worthless life, the weight of my pedigree will not add an ounce to my intrinsic value. But be the inference what it will, the simple truth is this:

I was born in London, on the 6th of November 1671, in Southampton Street, facing Southampton House. My father, Caius Gabriel Cibber, was a native of Holstein, who came into England some time before the restoration of King Charles II. to follow his profession, which was that of a statuary, etc. The *basso-relievo* on the pedestal of the Great Column in the city, and the two figures of the lunatics, the "Raving" and the "Melancholy," over the gates of Bethlehem Hospital, are no ill monuments of his fame as an artist. My mother was the daughter of William Colley, Esq.; of a very ancient family of Glaiston in Rutlandshire, where she was born. My mother's brother, Edward Colley, Esq. (who gave me my christian name), being the last heir male of it, the family is now extinct. I shall only add, that in Wright's *History of Rutlandshire,* published in 1684, the Colleys are recorded as sheriffs and members of parliament from the reign of Henry VII. to the latter end of Charles I., in whose cause chiefly Sir Antony Colley, my mother's grandfather, sunk his estate from three thousand to about three hundred per annum.

In the year 1682, at little more than ten years of age, I was sent to the free-school of Grantham in Lincolnshire, where I stayed till I got through it, from the lowest form to the uppermost. And such learning as that school could give me, is the most I pretend to (which though I have not utterly forgot, I cannot say I have much improv'd by study), but even there I remember I was the same inconsistent creature I have been ever since! always in full spirits, in some small capacity to do right, but in a more frequent alacrity to do wrong; and consequently often under a worse character than I wholly deserv'd. A giddy negligence always possess'd me, and so much, that I remember I was once whipp'd for my *theme,* though my master told me, at the same time, what was good of it was better than any boy's in the form. And (whatever shame it may be to own it) I have observed the same odd fate has frequently attended the course of my later conduct in life. The unskillful openness, or in plain terms, the indiscretion I

have always acted with from my youth, has drawn more ill-will towards me, than men of worse morals and more wit might have met with. My ignorance and want of jealousy of mankind has been so strong, that it is with reluctance I even yet believe any person, I am acquainted with, can be capable of envy, malice, or ingratitude.

Now, sir, as I have been making my way for above forty years through a crowd of cares (all which, by the favor of Providence, I have honestly got rid of), is it a time of day for me to leave off these fooleries and to set up a new character? Can it be worth my while to waste my spirits, to bake my blood, with serious contemplations, and perhaps impair my health, in the fruitless study of advancing myself into the better opinion of those very—very few wise men that are as old as I am? No, the part I have acted in real life shall be all of a piece. I will not go out of my character by straining to be wiser than I *can* be, or by being more affectedly pensive than I *need* be; whatever I am, men of sense will know me to be, put on what disguise I will; I can no more put off my follies than my skin; I have often try'd, but they stick too close to me; nor am I sure my friends are displeased with them; for, besides that in this light I afford them frequent matter of mirth, they may possibly be less uneasy at their *own* foibles, when they have so old a precedent to keep them in countenance. Nay, there are some frank enough to confess they envy what they laugh at; and when I have seen others, whose rank and fortune have laid a sort of restraint upon their liberty of pleasing their company by pleasing themselves, I have said softly to myself: Well, there is some advantage in having neither rank nor fortune! Not but there are among them a third sort, who have the particular happiness of unbending into the very wantonness of good-humor, without depreciating their dignity. He that is not master of that freedom, let his condition be never so exalted, must still want something to come up to the happiness of his inferiors who enjoy it. If Socrates cou'd take pleasure in playing at even or odd with his children, or Agesilaus divert himself in riding the hobby-horse with them, am I oblig'd to be as eminent as either of them before I am as frolicsome? If the Emperor Adrian, near his death, cou'd play with his very soul,

his *animula,* etc., and regret that it cou'd be no longer companionable; if greatness at the same time was not the delight he was so loth to part with, sure then these cheerful amusements I am contending for, must have no inconsiderable share in our happiness; he that does not choose to live his own way, suffers others to choose for him. Give me the joy I always took in the end of an old song,

My mind, my mind is a kingdom to me!

If I can please myself with my own follies, have not I a plentiful provision for life? If the world thinks me a trifler, I don't desire to break in upon their wisdom; let them call me any fool but an uncheerful one; I live as I write; while my way amuses me, it's as well as I wish it; when another writes better, I can like him too, tho' he shou'd not like me. Not our great imitator of Horace himself can have more pleasure in writing his verses than I have in reading them, tho' I sometimes find myself there (as Shakespeare terms it) *dispraisingly* spoken of. If he is a little free with me, I am generally in good company, he is as blunt with my betters; so that even here I might laugh in my turn. My superiors, perhaps, may be mended by him; but, for my part, I own myself incorrigible. I look upon my follies as the best part of my fortune, and am more concern'd to be a good husband of them, than of that; nor do I believe I shall ever be rim'd out of them.

CHAPTER II

It often makes me smile, to think how contentedly I have set myself down to write my own life; nay, and with less concern for what may be said of it than I should feel were I to do the same for a deceased acquaintance. This you will easily account for, when you consider that nothing gives a coxcomb more delight than when you suffer him to talk of himself; which sweet liberty I here enjoy for a whole volume together! A privilege which neither could be allowed me, nor would become me to take, in the company I am generally admitted to; but here, when I have all the talk to myself, and have nobody to interrupt and contradict me, sure, to say whatever I have a mind other people should know of me, is

a pleasure which none but authors, as vain as myself, can conceive.—But to my history.

However little worth notice the life of a school-boy may be supposed to contain, yet, as the passions of men and children have much the same motives, and differ very little in their effects, unless where the elder experience may be able to conceal them; as therefore what arises from the boy, may possibly be a lesson to the man, I shall venture to relate a fact or two that happened while I was still at school.

In February 1684-5, died King Charles II., who being the only king I had ever seen, I remember (young as I was) his death made a strong impression upon me, as it drew tears from the eyes of multitudes, who looked no further into him than I did: but it was, then, a sort of school-doctrine to regard our monarch as a deity; as in the former reign it was to insist he was accountable to this world, as well as to that above him. But what, perhaps, gave King Charles II. this peculiar possession of so many hearts, was his affable and easy manner in conversing; which is a quality that goes farther with the greater part of mankind than many higher virtues, which, in a prince, might more immediately regard the public prosperity. Even his indolent amusement of playing with his dogs, and feeding his ducks, in St. James's Park (which I have seen him do), made the common people adore him, and consequently overlook in him what, in a prince of a different temper, they might have been out of humor at.

King Charles his death was judg'd, by our school-master, a proper subject to lead the form I was in, into a higher kind of exercise; he therefore enjoin'd us, severally, to make his funeral oration. This sort of task, so entirely new to us all, the boys received with astonishment, as a work above their capacity; and tho' the master persisted in his command, they one and all, except myself, resolved to decline it. But I, sir, who was ever giddily forward, and thoughtless of consequences, set myself roundly to work, and got through it as well as I could. I remember to this hour that single topic of his affability (which made me mention it before) was the chief motive that warmed me into the undertaking; and to shew how very childish a notion I had of his character at that time, I raised his humanity, and love of those who serv'd him, to

such height, that I imputed his death to the shock he received from the Lord Arlington's being at the point of death, about a week before him. This oration, such as it was, I produc'd the next morning: all the other boys pleaded their inability, which the master taking rather as a mark of their modesty than their idleness, only seemed to punish by setting me at the head of the form: a preferment dearly bought! Much happier had I been to have sunk my performance in the general modesty of declining it. A most uncomfortable life I led among them for many a day after! I was so jeer'd, laugh'd at, and hated as a pragmatical bastard (school-boys' language) who had betray'd the whole form, that scarce any of them would keep me company; and tho' it so far advanced me into the master's favor that he would often take me from the school, to give me an airing with him on horseback, while they were left to their lessons; you may be sure such envy'd happiness did not increase their good-will to me: notwithstanding which, my stupidity could take no warning from their treatment. An accident of the same nature happen'd soon after, that might have frighten'd a boy of a meek spirit from attempting anything above the lowest capacity. On the 23rd of April following, being the coronation-day of the new king, the school petition'd the master for leave to play; to which he agreed, provided any of the boys would produce an English ode upon that occasion.—The very word "ode," I know, makes you smile already; and so it does me; not only because it still makes so many poor devils turn wits upon it, but from a more agreeable motive; from a reflection of how little I then thought that, half a century afterwards, I should be called upon twice a year, by my post, to make the same kind of oblations to an *unexceptionable* prince, the serene happiness of whose reign my halting rimes are still so unequal to.—This, I own, is vanity without disguise; but, *Hæc olim meminisse juvat.* The remembrance of the miserable prospect we had then before us, and have since escaped by a revolution, is now a pleasure, which, without that remembrance, I could not so heartily have enjoyed. The ode I was speaking of fell to my lot, which in about half an hour I produced. I cannot say it was much above the merry style of "Sing! Sing the Day, and sing the Song," in the farce; yet

bad as it was, it served to get the school a play-day, and to make me not a little vain upon it; which last effect so disgusted my play-fellows, that they left me out of the party I had most a mind to be of in that day's recreation. But their ingratitude serv'd only to increase my vanity; for I considered them as so many beaten tits, that had just had the mortification of seeing my hack of a Pegasus come in before them. This low passion is so rooted in our nature, that sometimes riper heads cannot govern it. I have met with much the same silly sort of coldness, even from my contemporaries of the theater, from having the superfluous capacity of writing myself the characters I have acted.

Here, perhaps, I may again seem to be vain; but if all these facts are true (as true they are) how can I help it? Why am I obliged to conceal them? The merit of the best of them is not so extraordinary as to have warn'd me to be nice upon it; and the praise due to them is so small a fish, it was scarce worth while to throw my line into the water for it. If I confess my vanity while a boy, can it be vanity, when a man, to remember it? And if I have a tolerable feature, will not that as much belong to my picture as an imperfection? In a word, from what I have mentioned, I would observe only this; that when we are conscious of the least comparative merit in ourselves, we should take as much care to conceal the value we set upon it, as if it were a real defect. To be elated, or vain upon it, is shewing your money before people in want; ten to one but some who may think you have too much, may borrow, or pick your pocket before you get home. He who assumes praise to himself, the world will think overpays himself.

Nor indeed is the little reputation I have as an author worth the trouble of a defense. Then, as no criticism can possibly make me worse than I really am; so nothing I can say of myself can possibly make me better. When therefore a determined critic comes arm'd with wit and outrage, to take from me that small pittance I have, I wou'd no more dispute with him than I wou'd resist a gentleman of the road, to save a little pocket-money. Men that are in want themselves, seldom make a conscience of taking it from others. Whoever thinks I have too much is welcome to what share of it he pleases.

Nay, to make him more merciful (as I partly guess the worst he can say of what I now write), I will prevent even the imputation of his doing me injustice, and honestly say it myself, viz., that of all the assurances I was ever guilty of, this of writing my own life is the most hardy. I beg his pardon!—impudent is what I should have said! That through every page there runs a vein of vanity and impertinence, which no French ensign's memoirs ever came up to; but, as this is a common error, I presume the terms of Doting Trifler, Old Fool, or Conceited Coxcomb, will carry contempt enough for an impartial censor to bestow on me; that my style is unequal, pert, and frothy, patch'd and party-color'd, like the coat of an harlequin; low and pompous, cramm'd with epithets, strew'd with scraps of second-hand Latin from common quotations; frequently aiming at wit, without ever hitting the mark; a mere ragout, toss'd up from the offals of other authors: my subject below all pens but my own, which, whenever I keep to, is flatly daub'd by one eternal egotism: that I want nothing but wit to be as an accomplish'd coxcomb here as ever I attempted to expose on the theater: nay, that this very confession is no more a sign of my modesty, than it is a proof of my judgment; that in short, you may roundly tell me, that—*Cinna* (or Cibber) *vult videri pauper, et est pauper.*

> When humble Cinna cries, I'm poor and low,
> You may believe him—he is really so.

Well, Sir Critic! and what of all this? Now I have laid myself at your feet, what will you do with me? Expose me? Why, dear sir, does not every man that writes expose himself? Can you make me more ridiculous than nature has made me? You cou'd not sure suppose, that I would lose the pleasure of writing, because you might possibly judge me a blockhead, or perhaps might pleasantly tell other people they ought to think me so too. Will not they judge as well from what *I* say, as what *you* say? If then you attack me merely to divert yourself, your excuse for writing will be no better than mine. But perhaps you may want bread; if that be the case, even go to dinner, i' God's name!

If our best authors, when teas'd by these triflers, have not been masters of this indifference, I should not wonder if it

were disbeliev'd in me; but when it is consider'd that I have allow'd my never having been disturb'd into a reply has proceeded as much from vanity as from philosophy, the matter then may not seem so incredible. And tho' I confess, the complete revenge of making them immortal dunces in immortal verse might be glorious; yet, if you will call it insensibility in me, never to have winc'd at them, even that insensibility has its happiness, and what could glory give me more? For my part, I have always had the comfort to think, whenever they design'd me a disfavor, it generally flew back into their own faces, as it happens to children when they squirt at their play-fellows against the wind. If a scribbler cannot be easy, because he fancies I have too good an opinion of my own productions, let him write on, and mortify; I owe him not the charity to be out of temper myself merely to keep him quiet, or give him joy. Nor, in reality, can I see why any thing misrepresented, tho' believ'd of me by persons to whom I am unknown, ought to give me any more concern than what may be thought of me in Lapland. 'Tis with those with whom I am to *live* only, where my character can affect me; and I will venture to say, he must find out a new way of writing that will make me pass my time *there* less agreeably.

You see, sir, how hard it is for a man that is talking of himself, to know when to give over; but if you are tired, lay me aside till you have a fresh appetite.

CHAPTER III

I AM now come to that crisis of my life when fortune seem'd to be at a loss what she would do with me. Had she favor'd my father's first designation of me, he might then, perhaps, have had as sanguine hopes of my being a bishop as I afterwards conceived of my being a general, when I first took arms at the Revolution. Nay, after that, I had a third chance too, equally as good, of becoming an underpropper of the state. How, at last, I became to be none of all these, the sequel will inform you.

About the year 1687, I was taken from school to stand at the election of children into Winchester College; my being,

by my mother's side, a descendant of William of Wickham, the founder, my father (who knew little how the world was to be dealt with) imagined my having that advantage would be security enough for my success, and so sent me simply down thither, without the least favorable recommendation or interest, but that of my naked merit, and a pompous pedigree in my pocket. Had he tack'd a direction to my back, and sent me by the carrier to the mayor of the town, to be chosen member of Parliament there, I might have had just as much chance to have succeeded in the one as the other. But I must not omit in this place to let you know that the experience which my father then bought, at my cost, taught him, some years after, to take a more judicious care of my younger brother, Lewis Cibber, whom, with the present of a statue of the founder, of his own making, he recommended to the same college. This statue now stands (I think) over the school-door there, and was so well executed that it seem'd to speak—for its kinsman. It was no sooner set up than the door of preferment was open to him.

Here, one would think, my brother had the advantage of me, in the favor of fortune, by this his first laudable step into the world. I own I was so proud of his success that I even valued myself upon it; and yet it is but a melancholy reflection to observe how unequally his profession and mine were provided for; when I, who had been the outcast of fortune, could find means, from my income of the theater, before I was my own master there, to supply, in his highest preferment, his common necessities. I cannot part with his memory without telling you I had as sincere a concern for this brother's well-being as my own. He had lively parts, and more than ordinary learning, with a good deal of natural wit and humor; but from too great a disregard to his health, he died a fellow of New College in Oxford, soon after he had been ordained by Dr. Compton, then Bishop of London. I now return to the state of my own affair at Winchester.

After the election, the moment I was inform'd that I was one of the unsuccessful candidates, I blest myself to think what a happy reprieve I had got from the confin'd life of a school-boy! and the same day took post back to London,

that I might arrive time enough to see a play (then my darling delight) before my mother might demand an account of my traveling charges. When I look back to that time, it almost makes me tremble to think what miseries, in fifty years farther in life, such an unthinking head was liable to! To ask, why Providence afterwards took more care of me than I did of myself, might be making too bold an inquiry into its secret will and pleasure. All I can say to that point is, that I am thankful and amaz'd at it.

'Twas about this time I first imbib'd an inclination, which I durst not reveal, for the stage; for, besides that I knew it would disoblige my father, I had no conception of any means, practicable, to make my way to it. I therefore suppress'd the bewitching ideas of so sublime a station, and compounded with my ambition by laying a lower scheme, of only getting the nearest way into the immediate life of a gentleman collegiate. My father being at this time employed at Chatts-worth in Derbyshire, by the (then) Earl of Devonshire, who was raising that seat from a Gothic to a Grecian magnificence, I made use of the leisure I then had, in London, to open to him, by letter, my disinclination to wait another year for an uncertain preferment at Winchester, and to entreat him that he would send me, *per saltum*, by a shorter cut, to the university. My father, who was naturally indulgent to me, seem'd to comply with my request, and wrote word, that as soon as his affairs would permit, he would carry me with him, and settle me in some college, but rather at Cambridge, where (during his late residence at that place, in making some statues that now stand upon Trinity College's new library) he had contracted some acquaintance with the heads of houses, who might assist his intentions for me. This I lik'd better than to go discountenanc'd to Oxford, to which it would have been a sort of reproach to me not to have come elected. After some months were elaps'd, my father, not being willing to let me lie too long idling in London, sent for me down to Chattsworth, to be under his eye, till he cou'd be at leisure to carry me to Cambridge. Before I could set out on my journey thither, the nation fell in labor of the Revolution, the news being then just brought to London, that the Prince of Orange, at the head of an army, was landed in the

west. When I came to Nottingham, I found my father in arms there, among those forces which the Earl of Devonshire had raised for the redress of our violated laws and liberties. My father judg'd this a proper season for a young stripling to turn himself loose into the bustle of the world; and being himself too advanc'd in years to endure the winter fatigue, which might possibly follow, entreated that noble lord that he would be pleas'd to accept of his son in his room, and that he would give him (my father) leave to return and finish his works at Chattsworth. This was so well receiv'd by his lordship, that he not only admitted of my service, but promis'd my father, in return, that when affairs were settled, he would provide for me. Upon this my father return'd to Derbyshire, while I, not a little transported, jump'd into his saddle. Thus, in one day, all my thoughts of the university were smother'd in ambition! A slight commission for a horse officer was the least view I had before me. At this crisis you cannot but observe that the fate of King James, and of the Prince of Orange, and that of so minute a being as myself, were all at once upon the anvil. In what shape they wou'd severally come out, tho' a good guess might be made, was not then *demonstrable* to the deepest foresight; but as my fortune seem'd to be of small importance to the public, Providence thought fit to postpone it, 'till that of those great rulers of nations was justly perfected. Yet, had my father's business permitted him to have carried me one month sooner (as he intended) to the university, who knows but, by this time, that purer fountain might have wash'd my imperfections into a capacity of writing (instead of plays and annual odes) sermons, and pastoral letters. But whatever care of the church might so have fallen to my share, as I dare say it may be now in better hands, I ought not to repine at my being otherwise dispos'd of.

You must now consider me as one among those desperate thousands who, after a patience sorely try'd, took arms under the banner of necessity, the natural parent of all human laws and government. I question, if in all the histories of empire, there is one instance of so bloodless a revolution as that in England in 1688, wherein Whigs, Tories, princes, prelates, nobles, clergy, common people, and a stand-

ing army, were unanimous. To have seen all England of one mind, is to have liv'd at a very particular juncture. Happy nation! who are never divided among themselves, but when they have least to complain of! Our greatest grievance since that time seems to have been that we cannot all govern; and 'till the number of good places are equal to those who think themselves qualified for them, there must ever be a cause of contention among us. While great men want great posts, the nation will never want real or seeming patriots; and while great posts are fill'd with persons whose capacities are but human, such persons will never be allow'd to be without errors; not even the Revolution, with all its advantages, it seems, has been able to furnish us with unexceptionable statesmen! for, from that time, I don't remember any one set of ministers that have not been heartily rail'd at; a period long enough, one would think (if all of them have been as bad as they have been call'd), to make a people despair of ever seeing a good one. But as it is possible that envy, prejudice, or party, may sometimes have a share in what is generally thrown upon 'em, it is not easy for a private man to know who is absolutely in the right, from what is said against them, or from what their friends or dependants may say in their favor. Tho' I can hardly forbear thinking that they who have been *longest* rail'd at must, from that circumstance, shew, in some sort, a proof of capacity.—But to my history.

It were almost incredible to tell you, at the latter end of King James's time (though the rod of arbitrary power was always shaking over us) with what freedom and contempt the common people, in the open streets, talk'd of his wild measures to make a whole Protestant nation Papists; and yet in the height of our secure and wanton defiance of him, we, of the vulgar, had no farther notion of any remedy for this evil than a satisfy'd presumption that our numbers were too great to be master'd by his mere will and pleasure; that though he might be too hard for our laws, he would never be able to get the better of our nature; and that to drive all England into popery and slavery, he would find would be teaching an old lion to dance.

But happy was it for the nation that it had then wiser

heads in it, who knew how to lead a people so dispos'd into measures for the public preservation.

These, sir, are a few of my political notions, which I have ventur'd to expose, that you may see what sort of an English subject I am; how wise or weak they may have shewn me, is not my concern; let the weight of these matters have drawn me never so far out of my depth, I still flatter myself that I have kept a simple, honest head above water. And it is a solid comfort to me to consider that how insignificant soever my life was at the Revolution, it had still the good fortune to make one, among the many, who brought it about; and that I, now, with my coævals, as well as with the millions since born, enjoy the happy effects of it.

But I must now let you see how my particular fortune went forward, with this change in the government; of which I shall not pretend to give you any farther account than what my simple eyes saw of it.

We had not been many days at Nottingham before we heard that the Prince of Denmark, with some other great persons, were gone off, from the king, to the Prince of Orange, and that the Princess Anne, fearing the king her father's resentment might fall upon her, for her consort's revolt, had withdrawn herself, in the night, from London, and was then within half a day's journey of Nottingham; on which very morning we were suddenly alarmed with the news that two thousand of the king's dragoons were in close pursuit to bring her back prisoner to London. But this alarm it seems was all stratagem, and was but a part of that general terror which was thrown into many other places about the kingdom, at the same time, with design to animate and unite the people in their common defense; it being then given out that the Irish were everywhere at our heels to cut off all the Protestants within the reach of their fury. In this alarm our troops scrambled to arms in as much order as their consternation would admit of, when having advanced some few miles on the London road, they met the princess in a coach, attended only by the Lady Churchill (now Duchess Dowager of Marlborough) and the Lady Fitzharding, whom they conducted into Nottingham, through the acclamations of the people. The same night all the noblemen, and the other persons of

distinction, then in arms, had the honor to sup at her royal highness's table; which was then furnished (as all her necessary accommodations were) by the care and at the charge of the Lord Devonshire. At this entertainment, of which I was a spectator, something very particular surpris'd me. The noble guests at the table happening to be more in number than attendants out of liveries could be found for, I being well known in the Lord Devonshire's family, was desired by his lordship's *maitre d'hotel* to assist at it: the post assigned me was to observe what the Lady Churchill might call for. Being so near the table, you may naturally ask me, what I might have heard to have passed in conversation at it? Which I should certainly tell you, had I attended to above two words that were uttered there, and those were, Some wine and water. These, I remember, came distinguished and observed to my ear, because they came from the fair guest, whom I took such pleasure to wait on. Except at that single sound, all my senses were collected into my eyes, which during the whole entertainment wanted no better amusement than of stealing now and then the delight of gazing on the fair object so near me. If so clear an emanation of beauty, such a commanding grace of aspect struck me into a regard that had something softer than the most profound respect in it, I cannot see why I may not, without offense, remember it; since beauty, like the sun, must sometimes lose its power to choose, and shine into equal warmth, the peasant and the courtier. Now to give you, sir, a farther proof of how good a taste my first hopeful entrance into manhood set out with, I remember above twenty years after, when the same lady had given the world four of the loveliest daughters that ever were gaz'd on, even after they were all nobly married, and were become the reigning toasts of every party of pleasure, their still lovely mother had at the same time her votaries, and her health very often took the lead in those involuntary triumphs of beauty. However presumptuous or impertinent these thoughts might have appear'd at my first entertaining them, why may I not hope that my having kept them decently secret for full fifty years, may be now a good round plea for their pardon? Were I now qualified to say more of this celebrated lady, I should conclude it thus: That she has liv'd

(to all appearance) a peculiar favorite of Providence; that few examples can parallel the profusion of blessings which have attended so long a life of felicity. A person so attractive! a husband so memorably great! an offspring so beautiful! a fortune so immense! and a title which (when royal favor had no higher to bestow) she only could receive from the author of nature; a great grandmother without gray hairs! These are such consummate indulgencies, that we might think heaven has center'd them all in one person, to let us see how far, with a lively understanding, the full possession of them could contribute to human happiness.— I now return to our military affairs.

From Nottingham our troops march'd to Oxford; through every town we passed the people came out, in some sort of order, with such rural and rusty weapons as they had, to meet us, in acclamations of welcome and good wishes. This, I thought, promised a favorable end of our civil war, when the nation seemed so willing to be all of a side! At Oxford the Prince and Princess of Denmark met for the first time after their late separation, and had all possible honors paid them by the university. Here we rested in quiet quarters for several weeks, till the flight of King James into France; when the nation being left to take care of itself, the only security that could be found for it was to advance the Prince and Princess of Orange to the vacant throne. The public tranquillity being now settled, our forces were remanded back to Nottingham. Here all our officers, who had commanded them from their first rising, received commissions to confirm them in their several posts; and at the same time, such private men as chose to return to their proper business or habitations, were offer'd their discharges. Among the small number of those who receiv'd them, I was one; for not hearing that my name was in any of these new commissions, I thought it time for me to take my leave of ambition, as ambition had before seduc'd me from the imaginary honors of the gown, and therefore resolv'd to hunt my fortune in some other field.

From Nottingham I again return'd to my father at Chattsworth, where I stayed till my lord came down, with the new honors of Lord Steward of his Majesty's Household, and

Knight of the Garter! a noble turn of fortune! and a deep stake he had play'd for! which calls to my memory a story we had then in the family, which though too light for our graver historians' notice, may be of weight enough for my humble memoirs. This noble lord being in the presence-chamber, in King James's time, and known to be no friend to the measures of his administration; a certain person in favor there, and desirous to be more so, took occasion to tread rudely upon his lordship's foot, which was return'd with a sudden blow upon the spot. For this misdemeanor his lordship was fin'd thirty thousand pounds; but I think had some time allowed him for the payment. In the summer preceding the Revolution, when his lordship retired to Chatts-worth, and had been there deeply engaged with other noble-men in the measures which soon after brought it to bear, King James sent a person down to him, with offers to mitigate his fine upon conditions of ready payment, to which his lord-ship reply'd, that if his majesty pleased to allow him a little longer time, he would rather choose to pay *double* or *quit* with him. The time of the intended rising being then so near at hand, the demand, it seems, came too late for a more serious answer.

However low my pretensions to preferment were at this time, my father thought that a little court-favor added to them, might give him a chance for saving the expense of maintaining me as he had intended at the university. He therefore order'd me to draw up a petition to the duke, and to give it some air of merit, to put it into Latin, the prayer of which was, that his grace would be pleased to do something (I really forget what) for me.—However, the duke upon re-ceiving it, was so good as to desire my father would send me to London in the winter, where he would consider of some provision for me. It might, indeed, well require time to con-sider it; for I believe it was then harder to know what I was really fit for, than to have got me any thing I was not fit for. However, to London I came, where I enter'd into my first state of attendance and dependance for about five months, till the February following. But, alas! in my intervals of leisure, by frequently seeing plays, my wise head was turn'd to higher views. I saw no joy in any other life than that of an

actor, so that (as before, when a candidate at Winchester) I was even afraid of succeeding to the preferment I sought for. 'Twas on the stage alone I had form'd a happiness preferable to all that camps or courts could offer me! and there was I determin'd, let father and mother take it as they pleased, to fix my *non ultra.* Here I think myself oblig'd, in respect to the honor of that noble lord, to acknowledge that I believe his real intentions to do well for me were prevented by my own inconsiderate folly; so that if my life did not then take a more laudable turn, I have no one but myself to reproach for it; for I was credibly informed by the gentlemen of his household, that his grace had, in their hearing, talk'd of recommending me to the Lord Shrewsbury, then Secretary of State, for the first proper vacancy in that office. But the distant hope of a reversion was too cold a temptation for a spirit impatient as mine, that wanted immediate possession of what my heart was so differently set upon. The allurements of a theater are still so strong in my memory, that perhaps few, except those who have felt them, can conceive. And I am yet so far willing to excuse my folly, that I am convinc'd were it possible to take off that disgrace and prejudice, which custom has thrown upon the profession of an actor, many a well-born younger brother, and beauty of low fortune, would gladly have adorn'd the theater, who, by their not being able to brook such dishonor to their birth, have passed away their lives decently unheeded and forgotten.

That, to have trod the stage has not always been thought a disqualification from more honorable employments; several have had military commissions; Carlisle and Wiltshire were both kill'd captains; one, in King William's reduction of Ireland; and the other, in his first war, in Flanders; and the famous Ben. Jonson, tho' an unsuccessful actor, was afterwards made poet-laureate.

To these laudable distinctions let me add one more; that of public applause, which, when truly merited, is, perhaps, one of the most agreeable gratifications that venial vanity can feel. A happiness almost peculiar to the actor, insomuch that the best tragic writer, however numerous his separate admirers may be, yet, to unite them into one general act of praise, to receive at once those thundering peals of approba-

tion, which a crowded theater throws out, he must still call in the assistance of the skillful actor, to raise and partake of them.

In a word, 'twas in this flattering light only, though not perhaps so thoroughly consider'd, I look'd upon the life of an actor, when but eighteen years of age; nor can you wonder, if the temptations are too strong for so warm a vanity as mine to resist; but whether excusable or not, to the stage, at length, I came, and it is from thence, chiefly, your curiosity, if you have any left, is to expect a farther account of me.

CHAPTER IV

One only theater was in 1684 placed in possession of the whole town, the united patentees imposed their own terms upon the actors; for the profits of acting were then divided into twenty shares, ten of which went to the proprietors, and the other moiety to the principal actors, in such sub-divisions as their different merit might pretend to. These shares of the patentees were promiscuously sold out to money-making persons, called adventurers, who, tho' utterly ignorant of theatrical affairs, were still admitted to a proportionate vote in the management of them; all particular encouragements to actors were by them, of consequence, look'd upon as so many sums deducted from their private dividends. While therefore the theatrical hive had so many drones in it, the laboring actors, sure, were under the highest discouragement, if not a direct state of oppression. Their hardship will at least appear in a much stronger light, when compar'd to our later situation, who with scarce half their merit, succeeded to be sharers under a patent upon five times easier conditions. For, as they had but half the profits divided among ten or more of them; we had three fourths of the whole profits divided only among three of us. And as they might be said to have ten task-masters over them, we never had but one assistant manager (not an actor) join'd with us; who, by the crown's indulgence, was sometimes too of our own choosing. Under this heavy establishment then groan'd this united company, when I was first admitted into the lowest rank of it. How they came to be relieved by King William's license in 1695, how they were again dispersed, early in Queen Anne's reign;

and from what accidents fortune took better care of us, their unequal successors, will be told in its place. But to prepare you for the opening so large a scene of their history, methinks I ought (in justice to their memory too) to give you such particular characters of their theatrical merit as in my plain judgment they seem'd to deserve. Presuming then, that this attempt may not be disagreeable to the curious, or the true lovers of the theater, take it without farther preface.

In the year 1690, when I first came into this company, the principal actors then at the head of it were:

Of Men.	Of Women.
Mr. Betterton,	Mrs. Betterton,
Mr. Monfort,	Mrs. Barry,
Mr. Kynaston,	Mrs. Leigh,
Mr. Sandford,	Mrs. Butler,
Mr. Nokes,	Mrs. Monfort, and
Mr. Underhil, and	Mrs. Bracegirdle.
Mr. Leigh.	

These actors, whom I have selected from their cotemporaries, were all original masters in their different style, not mere auricular imitators of one another, which commonly is the highest merit of the middle rank; but self-judges of nature, from whose various lights they only took their true instruction. If in the following account of them I may be obliged to hint at the faults of others, I never mean such observations should extend to those who are now in possession of the stage; for as I design not my memoirs shall come down to their time, I would not lie under the imputation of speaking in their disfavor to the public, whose approbation they must depend upon for support. But to my purpose.

Betterton was an actor, as Shakespeare was an author, both without competitors! form'd for the mutual assistance and illustration of each other's genius! How Shakespeare wrote, all men who have a taste for nature may read, and know —but with what higher rapture would he still be *read*, could they conceive how Betterton *play'd* him! Then might they know, the one was born alone to speak what the other only knew to write! Pity it is, that the momentary beauties flowing from an harmonious elocution, cannot like those of

poetry be their own record! That the animated graces of the player can live no longer than the instant breath and motion that presents them; or at best can but faintly glimmer through the memory, or imperfect attestation of a few surviving spectators. Could *how* Betterton spoke be as easily known as *what* he spoke; then might you see the muse of Shakespeare in her triumph, with all her beauties in their best array, rising into real life, and charming her beholders. But alas! since all this is so far out of the reach of description, how shall I shew you Betterton? Should I therefore tell you, that all the Othellos, Hamlets, Hotspurs, Macbeths, and Brutuses whom you may have seen since his time, have fallen far short of him; this still should give you no idea of his particular excellence. Let us see then what a particular comparison may do! whether that may yet draw him nearer to you?

You have seen a Hamlet perhaps, who, on the first appearance of his father's spirit, has thrown himself into all the straining vociferation requisite to express rage and fury, and the house has thunder'd with applause; tho' the mis-guided actor was all the while (as Shakespeare terms it) tearing a passion into rags.—I am the more bold to offer you this particular instance, because the late Mr. Addison, while I sat by him, to see this scene acted, made the same observation, asking me with some surprise, if I thought Hamlet should be in so violent a passion with the Ghost, which tho' it might have astonish'd, it had not provok'd him? for you may observe that in this beautiful speech, the passion never rises beyond an almost breathless astonishment, or an impatience, limited by filial reverence, to inquire into the suspected wrongs that may have rais'd him from his peaceful tomb! and a desire to know what a spirit so seemingly distrest, might wish or enjoin a sorrowful son to execute towards his future quiet in the grave? This was the light into which Betterton threw this scene; which he open'd with a pause of mute amazement! then rising slowly to a solemn, trembling voice, he made the ghost equally terrible to the spectator as to himself! and in the descriptive part of the natural emotions which the ghastly vision gave him, the boldness of his expostulation was still govern'd by decency,

manly, but not braving; his voice never rising into that seeming outrage, or wild defiance of what he naturally rever'd. But alas! to preserve this medium, between mouthing, and meaning too little, to keep the attention more pleasingly awake, by a temper'd spirit, than by mere vehemence of voice, is of all the master-strokes of an actor the most difficult to reach. In this none yet have equal'd Betterton. But I am unwilling to shew his superiority only by recounting the errors of those who now cannot answer to them; let their farther failings therefore be forgotten! or rather, shall I in some measure excuse them? for I am not yet sure, that they might not be as much owing to the false judgment of the spectator as the actor. While the million are so apt to be transported, when the drum of their ear is so roundly rattled; while they take the life of elocution to lie in the strength of the lungs, it is no wonder the actor, whose end is applause, should be also tempted, at this easy rate, to excite it.

A farther excellence in Betterton, was that he could vary his spirit to the different characters he acted. Those wild impatient starts, that fierce and flashing fire, which he threw into Hotspur, never came from the unruffled temper of his Brutus (for I have, more than once, seen a Brutus as warm as Hotspur), when the Betterton Brutus was provok'd, in his dispute with Cassius, his spirit flew only to his eye; his steady look alone supply'd that terror, which he disdain'd an intemperance in his voice should rise to. Thus, with a settled dignity of contempt, like an unheeding rock, he repelled upon himself the foam of Cassius.

The most that a Vandyke can arrive at, is to make his portraits of great persons seem to *think;* a Shakespeare goes farther yet, and tells you *what* his pictures thought; a Betterton steps beyond 'em both, and calls them from the grave, to breathe, and be themselves again, in feature, speech, and motion. When the skillful actor shews you all these powers at once united, and gratifies at once your eye, your ear, your understanding. To conceive the pleasure rising from such harmony, you must have been present at it! 'tis not to be told you!

Tho', as I have before observ'd, women were not admitted

to the stage, till the return of King Charles, yet it could not be so suddenly supply'd with them but that there was still a necessity, for some time, to put the handsomest young men into petticoats; which Kynaston was then said to have worn, with success; particularly in the part of Evadne, in the *Maid's Tragedy*, which I have heard him speak of; and which calls to my mind a ridiculous distress that arose from this sort of shifts which the stage was then put to.—The king coming a little before his usual time to a tragedy, found the actors not ready to begin, when his majesty not choosing to have as much patience as his good subjects, sent to them to know the meaning of it; upon which the master of the company came to the box, and rightly judging that the best excuse for their default would be the true one, fairly told his majesty that the queen was not *shav'd* yet. The king, whose good humor lov'd to laugh at a jest, as well as to make one, accepted the excuse, which serv'd to divert him till the male queen cou'd be effeminated. In a word, Kynaston, at that time was so beautiful a youth, that the ladies of quality prided themselves in taking him with them in their coaches, to Hyde-Park, in his theatrical habit, after the play; which in those days they might have sufficient time to do, because plays then, were us'd to begin at four a-clock: the hour that people of the same rank are now going to dinner.—Of this truth I had the curiosity to inquire, and had it confirm'd from his own mouth, in his advanc'd age. And indeed, to the last of him, his handsomeness was very little abated; even at past sixty, his teeth were all sound, white, and even, as one would wish to see in a reigning toast of twenty. He had something of a formal gravity in his mien, which was attributed to the stately step he had been so early confin'd to, in a female decency. But even that, in characters of superiority had its proper graces; it misbecame him not in the part of Leon, in Fletcher's *Rule a Wife, etc.*, which he executed with a determin'd manliness, and honest authority, well worth the best actor's imitation. He had a piercing eye, and in characters of heroic life, a quick imperious vivacity, in his tone of voice, that painted the tyrant truly terrible. There were two plays of Dryden in which he shone, with uncommon luster; in *Aurenge-Zebe* he play'd

Morat, and in *Don Sebastian,* Muley Moloch; in both these parts, he had a fierce, lion-like majesty in his port and utterance that gave the spectator a kind of trembling admiration!

CHAPTER V

I COME now to those other men actors who, at this time, were equally famous in the lower life of comedy. But I find myself more at a loss to give you them, in their true and proper light, than those I have already set before you. Why the tragedian warms us into joy, or admiration, or sets our eyes on flow with pity, we can easily explain to another's apprehension; but it may sometimes puzzle the gravest spectator to account for that familiar violence of laughter, that shall seize him, at some particular strokes of a true comedian. How then shall I describe what a better judge might not be able to express? The rules to please the fancy cannot so easily be laid down, as those that ought to govern the judgment. The decency too, that must be observed in tragedy, reduces, by the manner of speaking it, one actor to be much more like another, than they can or need be supposed to be in comedy. There the laws of action give them such free, and almost unlimited liberties, to play and wanton with nature, that the voice, look, and gesture of a comedian may be as various as the manners and faces of the whole mankind are different from one another. These are the difficulties I lie under. Where I want words, therefore, to describe what I may commend, I can only hope you will give credit to my opinion; and this credit I shall most stand in need of when I tell you, that

Nokes was an actor of a quite different genius from any I have ever read, heard of, or seen, since or before his time; and yet his general excellence may be comprehended in one article, viz. a plain and palpable simplicity of nature, which was so utterly his own, that he was often as unaccountably diverting in his common speech, as on the stage. I saw him once, giving an account of some table-talk, to another actor behind the scenes, which, a man of quality accidentally listening to, was so deceived by his manner, that he ask'd him if that was a new play he was rehearsing? It seems almost

amazing that this simplicity, so easy to Nokes, should never be caught by any one of his successors. Leigh and Underhil, have been well copied, tho' not equal'd by others. But not all the mimical skill of Eastcourt (fam'd as he was for it), tho' he had often seen Nokes, could scarce give us an idea of him. After this perhaps it will be saying less of him, when I own, that though I have still the sound of every line he spoke in my ear (which us'd not to be thought a bad one), yet I have often try'd, by myself, but in vain, to reach the least distant likeness of the *vis comica* of Nokes. Though this may seem little to his praise, it may be negatively saying a good deal to it, because I have never seen any one actor, except himself, whom I could not, at least so far imitate, as to give you a more than tolerable notion of his manner. But Nokes was so singular a species, and was so form'd by nature for the stage, that I question if (beyond the trouble of getting words by heart) it ever cost him an hour's labor to arrive at that high reputation he had and deserved.

He scarce ever made his first entrance in a play but he was received with an involuntary applause, not of hands only, for those may be, and have often been partially prostituted and bespoken; but by a general laughter, which the very sight of him provoked, and nature could not resist; yet the louder the laugh the graver was his look upon it; and sure, the ridiculous solemnity of his features were enough to have set a whole bench of bishops into a titter, cou'd he have been honor'd (may it be no offense to suppose it) with such grave and right reverend auditors. In the ludicrous distresses, which by the laws of comedy, folly is often involv'd in; he sunk into such a mixture of piteous pusillanimity, and a consternation so ruefully ridiculous and inconsolable, that when he had shook you, to a fatigue of laughter, it became a moot point whether you ought not to have pity'd him. When he debated any matter by himself, he would shut up his mouth with a dumb studious pout, and roll his full eye into such a vacant amazement, such a palpable ignorance of what to think of it, that his silent perplexity (which would sometimes hold him several minutes) gave your imagination as full content as the most absurd thing he could say upon it.

Leigh was of the mercurial kind, and though not so strict

an observer of nature, yet never so wanton in his performance, as to be wholly out of her sight. In humor, he lov'd to take a full career, but was careful enough to stop short, when just upon the precipice. He had great variety, in his manner, and was famous in very different characters. In the canting, grave hypocrisy of the Spanish Friar, he stretcht the veil of piety so thinly over him, that in every look, word, and motion, you saw a palpable, wicked slyness shine through it.—Here he kept his vivacity demurely confin'd, till the pretended duty of his function demanded it; and then he exerted it, with a choleric sacerdotal insolence. But the friar is a character of such glaring vice, and so strongly drawn, that a very indifferent actor cannot but hit upon the broad jests, that are remarkable, in every scene of it. Though I have never yet seen any one, that has fill'd them with half the truth and spirit of Leigh.—Leigh rais'd the character as much above the poet's imagination, as the character has sometimes rais'd other actors above themselves! and I do not doubt but the poet's knowledge of Leigh's genius help'd him to many a pleasant stroke of nature, which without that knowledge never might have enter'd into his conception. Leigh was so eminent in his character, that the late Earl of Dorset (who was equally an admirer and a judge of theatrical merit) had a whole length of him, in the friar's habit, drawn by Kneller. The whole portrait is highly painted, and extremely like him. But no wonder Leigh arriv'd to such fame in what was so completely written for him; when characters that would have made the reader yawn, in the closet, have by the strength of his action been lifted into the loudest laughter on the stage. Of this kind was the scrivener's great booby son in the *Villain;* Ralph, a stupid, staring, under-servant, in *Sir Solomon Single.* Quite opposite to those were Sir Jolly Jumble, in the *Soldier's Fortune,* and his old Belfond in the *Squire of Alsatia.* In Sir Jolly he was all life and laughing humor; and when Nokes acted with him in the same play, they returned the ball so dextrously upon one another, that every scene between them seem'd but one continued rest of excellence.—But alas! when those actors were gone, that comedy, and many others, for the same reason, were rarely known to stand upon their own legs; by seeing

no more of Leigh or Nokes in them, the characters were quite sunk and alter'd.

The deep impressions of these excellent actors, which I receiv'd in my youth, I am afraid, may have drawn me into the common foible of us old fellows; which is, a fondness, and perhaps, a tedious partiality for the pleasures we have formerly tasted, and think are now fallen off, because we can no longer enjoy them. If therefore I lie under that suspicion, tho' I have related nothing incredible, or out of the reach of a good judge's conception, I must appeal to those few, who are about my own age, for the truth and likeness of these theatrical portraits.

There were, at this time, several others in some degree of favor with the public, Powel, Verbruggen, Williams, etc. But as I cannot think their best improvements made them, in any wise equal to those I have spoke of, I ought not to range them in the same class. Neither were Wilks, or Dogget, yet come to the stage; nor was Booth initiated till about six years after them; or Mrs. Oldfield known, till the year 1700. I must therefore reserve the four last for their proper period, and proceed to the actresses, that were famous with Betterton, at the latter end of the last century.

Mrs. Barry was then in possession of almost all the chief parts in tragedy. With what skill she gave life to them, you will judge from the words of Dryden, in his preface to *Cleomenes,* where he says,

"Mrs. Barry, always excellent, has in this tragedy excell'd herself, and gain'd a reputation beyond any woman I have ever seen on the theater."

I very perfectly remember her acting that part; and however unnecessary it may seem, to give my judgment after Dryden's, I cannot help saying I do not only close with his opinion, but will venture to add that (tho' Dryden has been dead these thirty-eight years) the same compliment, to this hour, may be due to her excellence. And tho' she was then, not a little, past her youth, she was not, till that time, fully arriv'd to her maturity of power and judgment. From whence I would observe, that the short life of beauty is not long enough to form a complete actress. In men, the delicacy of person is not so absolutely necessary, nor the decline of

it so soon taken notice of. The fame Mrs. Barry arriv'd to, is a particular proof of the difficulty there is, in judging with certainty, from their first trials, whether young people will ever make any great figure on a theater. There was, it seems, so little hopes of Mrs. Barry, at her first setting out, that she was, at the end of the first year, discharg'd the company, among others, that were thought to be a useless expense to it. I take it for granted that the objection to Mrs. Barry, at that time, must have been a defective ear, or some unskillful dissonance, in her manner of pronouncing. But where there is a proper voice, and person, with the addition of a good understanding, experience tells us that such defect is not always invincible; of which, not only Mrs. Barry, but the late Mrs. Oldfield are eminent instances. Mrs. Oldfield had been a year in the Theater-Royal before she was observ'd to give any tolerable hope of her being an actress; so unlike, to all manner of propriety, was her speaking! How unaccountably then does a genius for the stage make its way towards perfection? For, notwithstanding these equal disadvantages, both these actresses, tho' of different excellence, made themselves complete mistresses of their art by the prevalence of their understanding. If this observation may be of any use to the masters of future theaters, I shall not then have made it to no purpose.

Mrs. Betterton, tho' far advanced in years, was so great a mistress of nature, that even Mrs. Barry, who acted the Lady Macbeth after her, could not in that part, with all her superior strength and melody of voice, throw out those quick and careless strokes of terror, from the disorder of a guilty mind, which the other gave us with a facility in her manner that render'd them at once tremendous and delightful. Time could not impair her skill, tho' he had brought her person to decay. She was, to the last, the admiration of all true judges of nature and lovers of Shakespeare, in whose plays she chiefly excell'd, and without a rival. When she quitted the stage, several good actresses were the better for her instruction. She was a woman of an unblemished and sober life; and had the honor to teach Queen Anne, when princess, the part of Semandra in *Mithridates,* which she acted at court in King Charles's time. After the death of Mr. Betterton,

her husband, that princess, when queen, order'd her a pension for life, but she lived not to receive more than the first half year of it.

Mrs. Leigh, the wife of Leigh already mention'd, had a very droll way of dressing the pretty foibles of superannuated beauties. She had, in herself, a good deal of humor, and knew how to infuse it into the affected mothers, aunts, and modest stale maids, that had miss'd their market. Of this sort were the modish mother in the *Chances,* affecting to be politely commode, for her own daughter; the coquette prude of an aunt, in *Sir Courtly Nice,* who prides herself in being chaste, and cruel, at fifty; and the languishing Lady Wishfort, in *The Way of the World.* In all these, with many others, she was extremely entertaining, and painted, in a lively manner, the blind side of nature.

Mrs. Butler, who had her Christian name of Charlotte given her by King Charles, was the daughter of a decayed knight, and had the honor of that prince's recommendation to the theater; a provident restitution, giving to the stage in kind what he had sometimes taken from it. The public, at least, was obliged by it; for she prov'd not only a good actress, but was allow'd in those days to sing and dance to great perfection. In the dramatic operas of *Diocletian,* and that of *King Arthur,* she was a capital and admired performer. In speaking too, she had a sweet-ton'd voice, which, with her naturally genteel air, and sensible pronunciation, render'd her wholly mistress of the amiable in many serious characters. In parts of humor too she had a manner of blending her assuasive softness even with the gay, the lively, and the alluring. Of this she gave an agreeable instance in her action of the (Villars) Duke of Buckingham's second Constantia in the *Chances.* In which, if I should say I have never seen her exceeded, I might still do no wrong to the late Mrs. Oldfield's lively performance of the same character. Mrs. Oldfield's fame may spare Mrs. Butler's action this compliment, without the least diminution, or dispute of her superiority, in characters of more moment.

Here I cannot help observing, when there was but one theater in London, at what unequal salaries, compar'd to those of later days, the hired actors were then held, by the

absolute authority of their frugal masters, the patentees; for Mrs. Butler had been but forty shillings a week, and could she have obtain'd an addition of ten shillings more (which was refused her) would never have left their service; but being offer'd her own conditions, to go with Mr. Ashbury to Dublin (who was then raising a company of actors for that theater, where there had been none since the Revolution), her discontent here prevail'd with her to accept of his offer, and he found his account in her value. Were not those patentees most sagacious economists, that could lay hold on so notable an expedient to lessen their charge? How gladly, in my time of being a sharer, would we have given four times her income to an actress of equal merit.

I come now to the last, and only living person, of all those whose theatrical characters I have promised you, Mrs. Bracegirdle; who, I know, would rather pass her remaining days forgotten, as an actress, than to have her youth recollected in the most favorable light I am able to place it; yet, as she is essentially necessary to my theatrical history, and as I only bring her back to the company of those, with whom she pass'd the spring and summer of her life, I hope it will excuse the liberty I take, in commemorating the delight which the public received from her appearance, while she was an ornament to the theater.

Mrs. Bracegirdle was now but just blooming to her maturity; her reputation, as an actress, gradually rising with that of her person; never any woman was in such general favor of her spectators, which, to the last scene of her dramatic life, she maintain'd, by not being unguarded in her private character. This discretion contributed, not a little, to make her the Cara, the darling of the theater. For it will be no extravagant thing to say, scarce an audience saw her that were less than half of them lovers, without a suspected favorite among them. And tho' she might be said to have been the universal passion, and under the highest temptations; her constancy in resisting them, served but to increase the number of her admirers. And this perhaps you will more easily believe, when I extend not my encomiums on her person, beyond a sincerity that can be suspected; for she had no greater claim to beauty than what the most

desirable *brunette* might pretend to. But her youth, and lively aspect, threw out such a glow of health and cheerfulness, that, on the stage, few spectators that were not past it, could behold her without desire. It was even a fashion among the gay, and young, to have a taste or *tendre* for Mrs. Bracegirdle. She inspired the best authors to write for her, and two of them, when they gave her a lover in a play, seem'd palpably to plead their own passions, and make their private court to her, in fictitious characters. In all the chief parts she acted, the desirable was so predominant, that no judge could be cold enough to consider from what other particular excellence she became delightful.

She retir'd from the stage in the height of her favor from the public, when most of her contemporaries, whom she had been bred up with, were declining, in the year 1710, nor could she be persuaded to return to it, under new masters, upon the most advantageous terms that were offered her; excepting one day, about a year after, to assist her good friend, Mr. Betterton, when she play'd Angelica, in *Love for Love,* for his benefit. She has still the happiness to retain her usual cheerfulness, and to be, without the transitory charm of youth, agreeable.

If, in my account of these memorable actors, I have not deviated from truth, which, in the least article I am not conscious of, may we not venture to say they had not their equals, at any one time, upon any theater in Europe?

How imperfect soever this copious account of them may be, I am not without hope, at least, it may in some degree shew what talents are requisite to make actors valuable. And if that may any ways inform, or assist the judgment of future spectators, it may, as often, be of service to their public entertainments; for as their hearers are, so will actors be; worse, or better, as the false, or true taste applauds, or discommends them. Hence only can our theaters improve, or must degenerate.

There is another point, relating to the hard condition of those who write for the stage, which I would recommend to the consideration of their hearers; which is, that the extreme severity with which they damn a bad play, seems too terrible a warning to those whose untried genius might

hereafter give them a good one. Whereas it might be a temptation, to a latent author, to make the experiment, could he be sure that, tho' not approved, his muse might, at least, be dismiss'd with decency. But the vivacity of our modern critics is of late grown so riotous, that an unsuccessful author has no more mercy shewn him, than a notorious cheat in a pillory; every fool, the lowest member of the mob, becomes a wit, and will have a fling at him. They come now to a new play, like hounds to a carcass, and are all in a full cry, sometimes for an hour together, before the curtain rises to throw it amongst them. Sure, those gentlemen cannot but allow that a play condemned after a fair hearing, falls with thrice the ignominy as when it is refused that common justice.

But when their critical interruptions grow so loud, and of so long a continuance, that the attention of quiet people (though not so complete critics) is terrify'd, and the skill of the actors quite disconcerted by the tumult, the play then seems rather to fall by assassins than by a lawful sentence. Is it possible that such auditors can receive delight, or think it any praise to them, to prosecute so injurious, so unmanly a treatment? And tho' perhaps the compassionate, on the other side (who know they have as good a right to clap, and support, as others have to catcall, damn, and destroy), may oppose this oppression; their good-nature, alas! contributes little to the redress; for in this sort of civil war, the unhappy author, like a good prince, while his subjects are at mortal variance, is sure to be a loser by a victory on either side; for still the commonwealth, his play, is, during the conflict, torn to pieces. While this is the case, while the theater is so turbulent a sea, and so infested with pirates, what poetical merchant, of any substance, will venture to trade in it? If these valiant gentlemen pretend to be lovers of plays, why will they deter gentlemen from giving them such as are fit for gentlemen to see? In a word, this new race of critics seem to me, like the lion-whelps in the Tower, who are so boisterously gamesome at their meals, that they dash down the bowls of milk brought for their own breakfast.

If those particular gentlemen have sometimes made me the humbled object of their wit and humor, their triumph

at least has done me this involuntary service, that it has driven me a year or two sooner into a quiet life than otherwise my own want of judgment might have led me to. I left the stage, before my strength left me; and tho' I came to it again, for some few days, a year or two after; my reception there not only turn'd to my account, but seem'd a fair invitation that I would make my visits more frequent. But, to give over a winner, can be no very imprudent resolution.

CHAPTER VI

HAVING given you the state of the theater, at my first admission to it; I am now drawing towards the several revolutions it suffer'd in my own time. But (as you find by the setting out of my history) that I always intended myself the hero of it, it may be necessary to let you know me, in my obscurity, as well as in my higher light, when I became one of the theatrical triumvirate.

The patentees, who were now masters of this united and only company of comedians, seem'd to make it a rule that no young persons, desirous to be actors, should be admitted into pay under, at least, half a year's probation; wisely knowing, that how early soever they might be approv'd of, there could be no great fear of losing them while they had, then, no other market to go to. But, alas! pay was the least of my concern; the joy and privilege of every day seeing plays for nothing, I thought was a sufficient consideration for the best of my services. So that it was no pain to my patience that I waited full three quarters of a year before I was taken into a salary of ten shillings per week; which, with the assistance of food and raiment at my father's house, I then thought a most plentiful accession, and myself the happiest of mortals.

The first thing that enters into the head of a young actor, is that of being a hero. In this ambition I was soon snubb'd, by the insufficiency of my voice; to which might be added, an uninform'd meager person (tho' then not ill made) with a dismal pale complexion. Under these disadvantages, I had but a melancholy prospect of ever playing a lover, with Mrs. Bracegirdle, which I had flatter'd my hopes that my youth might one day have recommended me to. What was most promising in me, then, was the aptness of my ear; for I was

soon allow'd to speak justly, tho' what was grave and serious did not equally become me. The first part, therefore, in which I appear'd, with any glimpse of success, was the Chaplain in the *Orphan of Otway*. There is in this character (of one scene only) a decent pleasantry, and sense enough to shew an audience whether the actor has any himself. Here was the first applause I ever receiv'd, which you may be sure made my heart leap with a higher joy than may be necessary to describe; and yet my transport was not then half so high, as at what Goodman (who had now left the stage) said of me, the next day, in my hearing. Goodman often came to a rehearsal for amusement, and having sat out the *Orphan*, the day before; in a conversation with some of the principal actors, inquir'd what new young fellow that was whom he had seen in the Chaplain? Upon which, Monfort reply'd, "That's he, behind you." Goodman then turning about, look'd earnestly at me, and, after some pause, clapping me on the shoulder, rejoin'd, "If he does not make a good actor, I'll be d——n'd!" The surprise of being commended, by one who had been himself so eminent, on the stage, and in so positive a manner, was more than I could support; in a word, it almost took away my breath, and (laugh, if you please) fairly drew tears from my eyes! And tho' it may be as ridiculous, as incredible, to tell you what a full vanity and content at that time possess'd me, I will still make it a question whether Alexander himself, or Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, when at the head of their first victorious armies, could feel a greater transport, in their bosoms, than I did then in mine, when but in the rear of this troop of comedians. You see to what low particulars I am forced to descend, to give you a true resemblance of the early and lively follies of my mind. Let me give you another instance of my discretion, more desperate than that, of preferring the stage to any other views of life. One might think, that the madness of breaking from the advice and care of parents, to turn player, could not easily be exceeded. But what think you, sir, of—— matrimony? which, before I was two-and-twenty, I actually committed, when I had but twenty pounds a year, which my father had assur'd to me, and twenty shillings a week from my theatrical labors, to maintain, as I then thought, the

happiest young couple that ever took a leap in the dark! If after this, to complete my fortune, I turn'd poet too, this last folly, indeed, had something a better excuse—necessity. Had it never been my lot to have come on the stage, 'tis probable I might never have been inclin'd, or reduc'd to have written for it; but having once expos'd my person there, I thought it could be no additional dishonor to let my parts, whatever they were, take their fortune along with it.—But let me return to the progress I made on the stage and my career as an actor.

Queen Mary having commanded the *Double Dealer* to be acted, Kynaston happen'd to be so ill, that he could not hope to be able next day to perform his part of the Lord Touchwood. In this exigence, the author, Mr. Congreve, advis'd that it might be given to me, if at so short a warning I would undertake it. The flattery of being thus distinguish'd by so celebrated an author, and the honor to act before a queen, you may be sure, made me blind to whatever difficulties might attend it. I accepted the part, and was ready in it before I slept; next day the queen was present at the play, and was receiv'd with a new prologue from the author, spoken by Mrs. Barry, humbly acknowledging the great honor done to the stage, and to his play in particular. Two lines of it, which tho' I have not since read, I still remember.

> But never were in Rome, nor Athens seen,
> So fair a circle, or so bright a queen.

After the play, Mr. Congreve made me the compliment of saying that I had not only answer'd, but had exceeded his expectations, and that he would shew me he was sincere, by his saying more of me to the masters.—He was as good as his word, and the next pay day I found my salary, of fifteen, was then advanc'd to twenty shillings a week. But alas! this favorable opinion of Mr. Congreve, made no further impression upon the judgment of my good masters; it only serv'd to heighten my own vanity; but could not recommend me to any new trials of my capacity; not a step farther could I get, till the company was again divided; when the desertion of the best actors left a clear stage for younger champions to mount and shew their best pretensions to favor. But it is

now time to enter upon those facts, that immediately preceded this remarkable revolution of the theater.

You have seen how complete a set of actors were under the government of the united patents in 1690; if their gains were not extraordinary, what shall we impute it to, but some extraordinary ill management? I was then too young to be in their secrets, and therefore can only observe upon what I saw, and have since thought visibly wrong.

Though the success of the *Prophetess,* and *King Arthur* (two dramatic operas, in which the patentees had embark'd all their hopes) was, in appearance, very great, yet their whole receipts did not so far balance their expense, as to keep them out of a large debt, which it was publicly known was, about this time, contracted, and which found work for the Court of Chancery for about twenty years following, till one side of the cause grew weary. But this was not all that was wrong; every branch of the theatrical trade had been sacrific'd, to the necessary fitting out those tall ships of burthen, that were to bring home the Indies. Plays of course were neglected, actors held cheap, and slightly dress'd, while singers and dancers were better paid, and embroider'd. These measures, of course, created murmurings, on one side, and ill-humor and contempt on the other. When it became necessary therefore to lessen the charge, a resolution was taken to begin with the salaries of the actors; and what seem'd to make this resolution more necessary at that time, was the loss of Nokes, Monfort, and Leigh, who all dy'd about the same year. No wonder then, if when these great pillars were at once remov'd, the building grew weaker and the audiences very much abated. Now in this distress, what more natural remedy could be found than to incite and encourage (tho' with some hazard) the industry of the surviving actors? But the patentees, it seems, thought the surer way was to bring down their pay, in proportion to the fall of their audiences. To make this project more feasible, they propos'd to begin at the head of them, rightly judging, that if the principals acquiesc'd, their inferiors would murmur in vain. To bring this about with a better grace, they under pretense of bringing younger actors forwards, order'd several of Betterton's and Mrs. Barry's chief parts to be

given to young Powel and Mrs. Bracegirdle. In this they committed two palpable errors; for while the best actors are in health, and still on the stage, the public is always apt to be out of humor when those of a lower class pretend to stand in their places; or admitting, at this time, they might have been accepted, this project might very probably have lessen'd, but could not possibly mend an audience; and was a sure loss of that time, in studying, which might have been better employ'd in giving the auditor variety, the only temptation to a pall'd appetite; and variety is only to be given by industry; but industry will always be lame when the actor has reason to be discontented. This the patentees did not consider, or pretended not to value, while they thought their power secure and uncontrollable. But farther, their first project did not succeed; for tho' the giddy head of Powel accepted the parts of Betterton; Mrs. Bracegirdle had a different way of thinking, and desir'd to be excus'd from those of Mrs. Barry; her good sense was not to be misled by the insidious favor of the patentees; she knew the stage was wide enough for her success, without entering into any such rash and invidious competition with Mrs. Barry, and therefore wholly refus'd acting any part that properly belong'd to her. But this proceeding, however, was warning enough to make Betterton be upon his guard, and to alarm others, with apprehensions of their own safety, from the design that was laid against him. Betterton, upon this, drew into his party most of the valuable actors, who, to secure their unity, enter'd with him into a sort of association, to stand or fall together. All this the patentees for some time slighted, but when matters drew towards a crisis, they found it advisable to take the same measures, and accordingly open'd an association on their part; both which were severally sign'd, as the interest or inclination of either side led them.

During these contentions, which the impolitic patentees had rais'd against themselves (not only by this I have mentioned, but by many other grievances, which my memory retains not), the actors offer'd a treaty of peace; but their masters imagining no consequence could shake the right of their authority, refus'd all terms of accommodation. In the meantime this dissension was so prejudicial to their daily

affairs, that I remember it was allow'd by both parties, that before Christmas, the patent had lost the getting of at least a thousand pounds by it.

My having been a witness of this unnecessary rupture was of great use to me, when many years after I came to be a manager myself. I laid it down as a settled maxim, that no company could flourish while the chief actors and undertakers were at variance. I therefore made it a point, while it was possible, upon tolerable terms to keep the valuable actors in humor with their station; and tho' I was as jealous of their encroachments, as any of my co-partners could be, I always guarded against the least warmth in my expostulations with them; not but at the same time they might see, I was perhaps more determin'd in the question, than those that gave loose to their resentment, and when they were cool were as apt to recede. I do not remember that ever I made a promise to any that I did not keep, and therefore was cautious how I made them. This coolness, tho' it might not please, at least left them nothing to reproach me with; and if temper and fair words could prevent a disobligation, I was sure never to give offense or receive it. But as I was but one of three, I could not oblige others to observe the same conduct. However, by this means, I kept many an unreasonable discontent from breaking out, and both sides found their account in it.

How a contemptuous and overbearing manner of treating actors had like to have ruin'd us, in our early prosperity, shall be shewn in its place. If future managers should chance to think my way right, I suppose they will follow it; if not, when they find what happen'd to the patentees (who chose to disagree with their people) perhaps they may think better of it.

The patentees then, who by their united powers had made a monopoly of the stage, and consequently presum'd they might impose what conditions they pleased upon their people, did not consider that they were all this while endeavoring to enslave a set of actors whom the public (more arbitrary than themselves) were inclined to support; nor did they reflect that the spectator naturally wish'd that the actor, who gave him delight, might enjoy the profits arising from

his labor, without regard of what pretended damage or injustice might fall upon his owners, whose personal merit the public was not so well acquainted with. From this consideration, then, several persons of the highest distinction espous'd their cause, and sometimes, in the circle, entertain'd the king with the state of the theater. At length their grievances were laid before the Earl of Dorset, then Lord Chamberlain, who took the most effectual method for their relief. The learned of the law were advised with, and they gave their opinion that no patent for acting plays, etc., could tie up the hands of a succeeding prince from granting the like authority, where it might be thought proper to trust it. But while this affair was in agitation, Queen Mary dy'd, which of course occasion'd a cessation of all public diversions. In this melancholy interim, Betterton, and his adherents, had more leisure to solicit their redress; and the patentees now finding that the party against them was gathering strength, were reduced to make sure of as good a company as the leavings of Betterton's interest could form; and these, you may be sure, would not lose this occasion of setting a price upon their merit, equal to their own opinion of it, which was but just double to what they had before. Powel and Verbruggen, who had then but forty shillings a week, were now raised each of them to four pounds, and others in proportion. As for myself, I was then too insignificant to be taken into their councils, and consequently stood among those of little importance, like cattle in a market, to be sold to the first bidder. But the patentees seeming in the greater distress for actors, condescended to purchase me. Thus, without any farther merit than that of being a scarce commodity, I was advanc'd to thirty shillings a week. Yet our company was so far from being full, that our commanders were forced to beat up for volunteers in several distant counties; it was this occasion that first brought Johnson and Bullock to the service of the Theater-Royal.

Forces being thus raised, and the war declared on both sides, Betterton and his chiefs had the honor of an audience of the king, who consider'd them as the only subjects whom he had not yet deliver'd from arbitrary power; and graciously dismiss'd them, with an assurance of relief and support.—

Accordingly a select number of them were impower'd by his royal license, to act in a separate theater for themselves. This great point being obtain'd, many people of quality came into a voluntary subscription of twenty, and some of forty guineas a-piece, for erecting a theater within the walls of the tennis-court, in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. But as it required time to fit it up, it gave the patentees more leisure to muster their forces, who notwithstanding were not able to take the field till the Easter-Monday in April following. Their first attempt was a reviv'd play, call'd *Abdelazar*, or the *Moor's Revenge*, poorly written, by Mrs. Behn. The house was very full, but whether it was the play, or the actors, that were not approved, the next day's audience sunk to nothing. However, we were assured, that let the audiences be never so low, our masters would make good all deficiencies, and so indeed they did, till towards the end of the season, when dues to balance came too thick upon 'em. But that I may go gradually on with my own fortune, I must take this occasion to let you know, by the following circumstance, how very low my capacity, as an actor, was then rated. It was thought necessary, at our opening, that the town should be address'd in a new prologue; but to our great distress, among several that were offer'd, not one was judg'd fit to be spoken. This I thought a favorable occasion to do myself some remarkable service, if I should have the good fortune to produce one that might be accepted. The next (memorable) day my muse brought forth her first fruit that was ever made public; how good, or bad, imports not; my prologue was accepted, and resolv'd on to be spoken. This point being gain'd, I began to stand upon terms, you will say, not unreasonable; which were, that if I might speak it myself, I would expect no farther reward for my labor. This was judg'd as bad as having no prologue at all! You may imagine how hard I thought it, that they durst not trust my poor poetical brat to my own care. But since I found it was to be given into other hands, I insisted that two guineas should be the price of my parting with it; which with a sigh I received, and Powel spoke the prologue. But every line that was applauded went sorely to my heart when I reflected that the same praise might have been given to my own speaking; nor could

the success of the author compensate the distress of the actor. However, in the end, it serv'd, in some sort, to mend our people's opinion of me; and whatever the critics might think of it, one of the patentees (who, it is true, knew no difference between Dryden and D'urfey) said, upon the success of it, that insooth! I was an ingenious young man. This sober compliment (tho' I could have no reason to be vain upon it) I thought was a fair promise to my being in favor. But to matters of more moment. Now let us reconnoiter the enemy.

After we had stolen some few days' march upon them, the forces of Betterton came up with us in terrible order. In about three weeks following, the new theater was open'd against us, with a veteran company, and a new train of artillery; or in plainer English, the old actors, in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields began, with a new comedy of Mr. Congreve's, call'd *Love for Love;* which ran on with such extraordinary success, that they had seldom occasion to act any other play, till the end of the season. This valuable play had a narrow escape from falling into the hands of the patentees; for before the division of the company, it had been read, and accepted of at the Theater-Royal; but while the articles of agreement for it were preparing, the rupture in the theatrical state was so far advanced, that the author took time to pause, before he sign'd them; when finding that all hopes of accommodation were impracticable, he thought it advisable to let it take its fortune with those actors for whom he had first intended the parts.

The first error this new colony of actors fell into was their inconsiderately parting with Williams and Mrs. Monfort, upon a too nice (not to say severe) punctilio; in not allowing them to be equal sharers with the rest; which, before they had acted one play, occasioned their return to the service of the patentees. As I have called this an error, I ought to give my reasons for it. Though the industry of Williams was not equal to his capacity; for he lov'd his bottle better than his business; and though Mrs. Monfort was only excellent in comedy, yet their merit was too great almost on any scruples to be added to the enemy; and at worst, they were certainly much more above those they would have ranked them with,

than they could possibly be under those they were not admitted to be equal to. Of this fact, there is a poetical record, in the prologue to *Love for Love,* where the author speaking of the then happy state of the stage, observes, that if, in paradise, when two only were there, they both fell; the surprise was less, if from so numerous a body as theirs, there had been any deserters.

> Abate the wonder, and the fault forgive,
> If, in our larger family, we grieve
> One falling Adam, and one tempted Eve.

These lines alluded to the revolt of the persons above mention'd.

Notwithstanding the acquisition of these two actors, who were of more importance than any of those to whose assistance they came, the affairs of the patentees were still in a very creeping condition; they were now, too late, convinced of their error, in having provok'd their people to this civil war, of the theater. Quite changed, and dismal, now, was the prospect before them! their houses thin, and the town crowding into a new one! Actors at double salaries, and not half the usual audiences, to pay them! And all this brought upon them by those whom their full security had contemn'd, and who were now in a fair way of making their fortunes upon the ruined interest of their oppressors.

Here, tho' at this time my fortune depended on the success of the patentees, I cannot help, in regard to truth, remembering the rude and riotous havoc was made of all the late dramatic honors of the theater! all became at once the spoil of ignorance, and self-conceit! Shakespeare was defac'd, and tortured in every signal character.—Hamlet and Othello lost in one hour all their good sense, their dignity, and fame. Brutus and Cassius became noisy blusterers, with bold unmeaning eyes, mistaken sentiments and turgid elocution! nothing, sure, could more painfully regret a judicious spectator, than to see, at our first setting out, with what rude confidence those habits, which actors of real merit had left behind them, were worn by giddy pretenders that so vulgarly disgraced them! Not young lawyers in hir'd robes and plumes, at a masquerade, could be less what they would seem

or more awkwardly personate the characters they belong'd to. If, in all these acts of wanton waste, these insults upon injur'd nature, you observe, I have not yet charged one of them upon myself; it is not from an imaginary vanity, that I could have avoided them; but that I was rather safe, by being too low, at that time, to be admitted even to my chance of falling into the same eminent errors. So that as none of those great parts ever fell to my share, I could not be accountable for the execution of them. Nor indeed could I get one good part of any kind, till many months after; unless it were of that sort, which nobody else car'd for, or would venture to expose themselves in. The first unintended favor, therefore, of a part of any value, necessity threw upon me, on the following occasion.

As it has been always judg'd their natural interest, where there are two theaters, to do one another as much mischief as they can; you may imagine, it could not be long before this hostile policy shew'd itself in action. It happen'd, upon our having information on a Saturday morning, that the Tuesday after, *Hamlet* was intended to be acted at the other house, where it had not yet been seen; our merry managing actors (for they were now in a manner left to govern themselves) resolv'd at any rate to steal a march upon the enemy, and take possession of the same play the day before them. Accordingly, *Hamlet* was given out that night, to be acted with us on Monday. The notice of this sudden enterprise soon reach'd the other house, who, in my opinion too much regarded it; for they shorten'd their first orders, and resolv'd that *Hamlet* should to *Hamlet* be opposed, on the same day; whereas had they given notice in their bills, that the same play would have been acted by them the day after, the town would have been in no doubt which house they should have reserved themselves for; ours must certainly have been empty, and theirs, with more honor, have been crowded. Experience, many years after, in like cases, has convinced me that this would have been the more laudable conduct. But be that as it may; when, in their Monday's bills, it was seen that *Hamlet* was up against us, our consternation was terrible to find that so hopeful a project was frustrated. In this distress, Powel, who was our commanding officer, and whose

enterprising head wanted nothing but skill to carry him through the most desperate attempts; for, like others of his cast, he had murder'd many a hero, only to get into his clothes. This Powel, I say, immediately called a council of war; where the question was whether he should fairly face the enemy, or make a retreat, to some other play of more probable safety? It was soon resolved that to act *Hamlet* against *Hamlet,* would be certainly throwing away the play, and disgracing themselves to little or no audience; to conclude, Powel, who was vain enough to envy Betterton, as his rival, proposed to change plays with them, and that as they had given out the *Old Bachelor,* and had chang'd it for *Hamlet,* against us; we should give up our *Hamlet,* and turn the *Old Bachelor* upon them. This motion was agreed to, *nemine contradicente;* but, upon inquiry, it was found, that there were not two persons among them who had ever acted in that play. But that objection, it seems (though all the parts were to be study'd in six hours), was soon got over; Powel had an equivalent, *in petto,* that would balance any deficiency on that score; which was, that he would play the Old Bachelor himself, and mimic Betterton throughout the whole part. This happy thought was approv'd with delight and applause, as whatever can be supposed to ridicule merit, generally gives joy to those that want it. Accordingly, the bills were chang'd, and at the bottom inserted,

The part of the Old Bachelor, to be perform'd in imitation of the original.

Printed books of the play were sent for in haste, and every actor had one, to pick out of it the part he had chosen. Thus, while they were each of them chewing the morsel, they had most mind to, some one happening to cast his eye over the *dramatis personæ,* found that the main matter was still forgotten, that nobody had yet been thought of for the part of Alderman Fondlewife. Here we were all aground again! nor was it to be conceiv'd who could make the least tolerable shift with it. This character had been so admirably acted by Dogget, that though it is only seen in the fourth act, it may be no dispraise to the play to say it probably ow'd the greatest part of its success to his performance. But, as the

case was now desperate, any resource was better than none. Somebody must swallow the bitter pill, or the play must die. At last it was recollected, that I had been heard to say in my wild way of talking, what a vast mind I had to play Nykin, by which name the character was more frequently call'd. Notwithstanding they were thus distress'd about the disposal of this part, most of them shook their heads, at my being mention'd for it; yet Powel, who was resolved, at all hazards, to fall upon Betterton, and having no concern for what might become of any one that serv'd his ends or purpose, order'd me to be sent for; and, as he naturally lov'd to set other people wrong, honestly said, before I came, "If the fool has a mind to blow himself up, at once, let us ev'n give him a clear stage for it." Accordingly, the part was put into my hands, between eleven and twelve that morning, which I durst not refuse, because others were as much straitened in time, for study, as myself. But I had this casual advantage of most of them; that having so constantly observ'd Dogget's performance, I wanted but little trouble, to make me perfect in the words; so that when it came to my turn to rehearse, while others read their parts, from their books, I had put mine in my pocket, and went thro' the first scene without it; and tho' I was more abash'd to rehearse so remarkable a part before the actors (which is natural to most young people) than to act before an audience, yet some of the better-natur'd encourag'd me so far, as to say, they did not think I should make an ill figure in it. To conclude, the curiosity to see Betterton mimick'd, drew us a pretty good audience, and Powel (as far as applause is a proof of it) was allow'd to have burlesqu'd him very well. As I have question'd the certain value of applause, I hope I may venture, with less vanity, to say how particular a share I had of it in the same play. At my first appearance, one might have imagin'd, by the various murmurs of the audience, that they were in doubt whether Dogget himself were not return'd, or that they could not conceive what strange face it could be that so nearly resembled him; for I had laid the tint of forty years, more than my real age, upon my features, and, to the most minute placing of an hair, was dressed exactly like him. When I spoke, the surprise was still greater, as if I had

not only borrow'd his clothes, but his voice too. But tho' that was the least difficult part of him, to be imitated, they seem'd to allow I had so much of him, in every other requisite, that my applause was, perhaps, more than proportionable. For, whether I had done so much, where so little was expected, or that the generosity of my hearers was more than usually zealous, upon so unexpected an occasion, or from what other motive such favor might be pour'd upon me, I cannot say; but, in plain and honest truth, upon my going off from the first scene, a much better actor might have been proud of the applause that followed me; after one loud plaudit was ended, and sunk into a general whisper, that seemed still to continue their private approbation, it reviv'd to a second, and again to a third, still louder than the former. If, to all this, I add that Dogget himself was in the pit at the same, it would be too rank affectation, if I should not confess, that, to see him there a witness of my reception, was to me as consummate a triumph as the heart of vanity could be indulg'd with. But whatever vanity I might set upon myself, from this unexpected success, I found that was no rule to other people's judgment of me. There were few or no parts of the same kind to be had; nor could they conceive, from what I had done in this, what other sort of characters I could be fit for. If I solicited for any thing of a different nature, I was answered, "That was not in my way." And what was in my way, it seems, was not, as yet, resolv'd upon. And though I repli'd, "That I thought any thing, naturally written, ought to be in every one's way that pretended to be an actor;" this was looked upon as a vain impracticable conceit of my own. Yet it is a conceit that, in forty years farther experience, I have not yet given up; I still think that a painter, who can draw but one sort of object, or an actor that shines but in one light, can neither of them boast of that ample genius, which is necessary to form a thorough master of his art. For tho' genius may have a particular inclination, yet a good history-painter, or a good actor, will, without being at a loss, give you, upon demand, a proper likeness of whatever nature produces. If he cannot do this, he is only an actor, as the shoemaker was allow'd a limited judge of Apelles's painting, but *not beyond his last.*

Now, tho' to do any one thing well, may have more merit than we often meet with; and may be enough, to procure a man the name of a good actor, from the public; yet, in my opinion, it is still the name without the substance. If his talent is in such narrow bounds, that he dares not step out of them, to look upon the singularities of mankind, and cannot catch them, in whatever form they present themselves; if he is not master of the *quicquid agunt homines, etc.*, in any shape, human nature is fit to be seen in; if he cannot change himself into several distinct persons, so as to vary his whole tone of voice, his motion, his look, and gesture, whether in high, or lower life, and, at the same time, keep close to those variations, without leaving the character they singly belong to; if his best skill falls short of this capacity, what pretense have we to call him a complete master of his art? And tho' I do not insist that he ought always to shew himself in these various lights, yet, before we compliment him with that title, he ought, at least, by some few proofs, to let us see that he has them all in his power.

While I thus measure the value of an actor, by the variety of shapes he is able to throw himself into, you may naturally suspect that I am all this while leading my own theatrical character into your favor. Why, really, to speak as an honest man, I cannot wholly deny it. But in this, I shall endeavor to be no farther partial to myself than known facts will make me; from the good or bad evidence of which, your better judgment will condemn or acquit me. And to shew you that I will conceal no truth that is against me, I frankly own that had I been always left to my own choice of characters, I am doubtful whether I might ever have deserv'd an equal share of that estimation, which the public seem'd to have held me in. Nor am I sure that it was not vanity in me, often to have suspected that I was kept out of the parts, I had most mind to, by the jealousy or prejudice of my contemporaries; some instances of which I could give you, were they not too slight to be remember'd. In the mean time, be pleas'd to observe, how slowly, in my younger days, my good-fortune came forward.

My early success in the *Old Bachelor,* of which I have given so full an account, having open'd no farther way to my

advancement, was enough, perhaps, to have made a young fellow of more modesty despair; but being of a temper not easily dishearten'd, I resolv'd to leave nothing unattempted that might shew me in some new rank of distinction. Having then no other resource, I was at last reduc'd to write a character for myself; but as that was not finish'd till about a year after, I could not, in the interim, procure any one part that gave me the least inclination to act it; and consequently such as I got, I perform'd with a proportionable negligence. But this misfortune, if it were one, you are not to wonder at; for the same fate attended me, more or less, to the last days of my remaining on the stage. What defect in me, this may have been owing to, I have not yet had sense enough to find out, but I soon found out as good a thing, which was, never to be mortify'd at it; though I am afraid this seeming philosophy was rather owing to my inclination to pleasure than business. But to my point. The next year I produc'd the comedy of *Love's Last Shift;* yet the difficulty of getting it to the stage, was not easily surmounted; for, at that time, as little was expected from me, as an author, as had been from my pretensions to be an actor. However, Mr. Southern, the author of *Oroonoko,* having had the patience to hear me read it to him happened to like it so well that he immediately recommended it to the patentees, and it was accordingly acted in January 1695. In this play, I gave myself the part of Sir Novelty, which was thought a good portrait of the foppery then in fashion. Here too, Mr. Southern, though he had approv'd my play, came into the common diffidence of me, as an actor. For, when on the first day of it, I was standing, myself, to prompt the prologue, he took me by the hand, and said, "Young Man! I pronounce thy play a good one; I will answer for its success, if thou dost not spoil it by thy own action." Though this might be a fair salvo, for his favorable judgment of the play; yet, if it were his real opinion of me, as an actor, I had the good fortune to deceive him. I succeeded so well, in both, that people seem'd at a loss which they should give the preference to. But (now let me shew a little more vanity, and my apology for it shall come after) the compliment which my Lord Dorset (then Lord Chamberlain)

made me upon it, is, I own, what I had rather not suppress, viz.: "That it was the best first play that any author in his memory had produc'd; and that for a young fellow, to shew himself such an actor, and such a writer, in one day, was something extraordinary." But as this noble lord has been celebrated for his good-nature, I am contented, that as much of this compliment should be suppos'd to exceed my deserts, as may be imagin'd to have been heighten'd, by his generous inclination to encourage a young beginner. If this excuse cannot soften the vanity of telling a truth so much in my own favor, I must lie at the mercy of my reader. But there was a still higher compliment pass'd upon me, which I may publish without vanity, because it was not a design'd one, and apparently came from my enemies, viz.: "That, to their certain knowledge, *it was not my own.*" This report is taken notice of in my dedication to the play. If they spoke truth, if they knew what other person it really belong'd to, I will at least allow them true to their trust; for above forty years have since past, and they have not yet reveal'd the secret.

The new light in which the character of Sir Novelty had shewn me, one might have thought were enough to have dissipated the doubts of what I might now be possibly good for. But to whatever chance my ill-fortune was due; whether I had still but little merit, or that the managers, if I had any, were not competent judges of it; or whether I was not generally elbow'd, by other actors (which I am most inclin'd to think the true cause), when any fresh parts were to be dispos'd of, not one part of any consequence was I preferr'd to, till the year following. Then, indeed, from Sir John Vanbrugh's favorable opinion of me, I began, with others, to have a better of myself. For he not only did me honor, as an author, by writing his *Relapse,* as a sequel, or second part, to *Love's Last Shift;* but as an actor too, by preferring me to the chief character in his own play (which from Sir Novelty), he had ennobled by the style of Baron of Foppington. This play (the *Relapse*), from its new and easy turn of wit, had great success, and gave me, as a comedian, a second flight of reputation along with it.

As the matter I write must be very flat, or impertinent, to

those who have no taste or concern for the stage; and may to those, who delight in it too, be equally tedious when I talk of nobody but myself; I shall endeavor to relieve your patience, by a word or two more of this gentleman, so far as he lent his pen to the support of the theater.

Though the *Relapse* was the first play this agreeable author produc'd, yet it was not, it seems, the first he had written; for he had at that time by him (more than) all the scenes that were acted of the *Provok'd Wife;* but being then doubtful whether he should ever trust them to the stage, he thought no more of it; but after the success of the *Relapse,* he was more strongly importun'd, than able, to refuse it to the public. Why the last-written play was first acted, and for what reason they were given to different stages, what follows will explain.

In his first step into public life, when he was but an ensign, and had a heart above his income, he happen'd somewhere, at his winter-quarters, upon a very slender acquaintance with Sir Thomas Skipwith, to receive a particular obligation from him, which he had not forgot at the time I am speaking of. When Sir Thomas's interest in the theatrical patent (for he had a large share in it, though he little concern'd himself in the conduct of it) was rising but very slowly, he thought, that to give it a lift, by a new comedy, if it succeeded, might be the handsomest return he could make to those his former favors; and having observ'd, that in *Love's Last Shift,* most of the actors had acquitted themselves beyond what was expected of them; he took a sudden hint from what he lik'd, in that play, and in less than three months, in the beginning of April following, brought us the *Relapse* finish'd; but the season being then too far advanc'd, it was not acted till the succeeding winter. Upon the success of the *Relapse,* the late Lord Hallifax, who was a great favorer of Betterton's company, having formerly, by way of family-amusement, heard the *Provok'd Wife* read to him, in its looser sheets, engag'd Sir John Vanbrugh to revise it, and give it to the theater in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. This was a request not to be refus'd to so eminent a patron of the muses as the Lord Hallifax, who was equally a friend and admirer of Sir John himself. Nor was Sir Thomas Skipwith in the least disobliged by so

reasonable a compliance. After which, Sir John was again at liberty to repeat his civilities to his friend, Sir Thomas, and about the same time, or not long after, gave us the comedy of *Æsop;* for his inclination always led him to serve Sir Thomas. Besides, our company, about this time, began to be look'd upon in another light; the late contempt we had lain under was now wearing off, and from the success of two or three new plays, our actors, by being originals in a few good parts, where they had not the disadvantage of comparison against them, sometimes found new favor, in those old plays, where others had exceeded them.

Of this good-fortune, perhaps, I had more than my share, from the two very different chief characters, I had succeeded in; for I was equally approved in Æsop, as the Lord Foppington, allowing the difference to be no less than as wisdom, in a person deform'd, may be less entertaining to the general taste than folly and foppery, finely drest. For the character that delivers precepts of wisdom is, in some sort, severe upon the auditor, by shewing him one wiser than himself. But when folly is his object, he applauds himself for being wiser than the coxcomb he laughs at; and who is not more pleas'd with an occasion to commend than accuse himself?

I have elsewhere allow'd that my want of a strong and full voice soon cut short my hopes of making any valuable figure in tragedy; and I have been many years since convinced, that whatever opinion I might have of my own judgment, or capacity to amend the palpable errors, that I saw our tragedians, most in favor, commit; yet the auditors, who would have been sensible of any such amendments (could I have made them) were so very few, that my best endeavor would have been but an unavailing labor, or, what is yet worse, might have appeared both to our actors, and to many auditors, the vain mistake of my own self-conceit; for so strong, so very near indispensable, is that one article of voice in the forming a good tragedian, that an actor may want any other qualification whatsoever, and yet have a better chance for applause than he will ever have, with all the skill in the world, if his voice is not equal to it. Mistake me not; I say, for *applause* only—but applause does not always stay for, nor always follow intrinsic merit; applause will frequently

open, like a young hound, upon a wrong scent; and the majority of auditors, you know, are generally compos'd of babblers, that are profuse of their voices, before there is any thing on foot that calls for them. Not but, I grant, to lead, or mislead the many, will always stand in some rank of a necessary merit; yet when I say a good tragedian, I mean one in opinion of whose *real* merit the best judges agree.

Having so far given up my pretensions to the buskin, I ought now to account for my having been, notwithstanding, so often seen in some particular characters in tragedy, as Iago, Wolsey, Syphax, Richard the Third, etc. If in any of this kind I have succeeded, perhaps it has been a merit dearly purchas'd; for, from the delight I seem'd to take in my performing them, half my auditors have been persuaded that a great share of the wickedness of them, must have been in my own nature. If this is true, as true I fear (I had almost said hope) it is, I look upon it rather as a praise than censure of my performance. Aversion there is an involuntary commendation, where we are only hated for being like the thing we *ought* to be like; a sort of praise however which few actors besides myself could endure. Had it been equal to the usual praise given to virtue, my contemporaries would have thought themselves injur'd, if I had pretended to any share of it; so that you see, it has been as much the dislike others had to them, as choice, that has thrown me sometimes into these characters.

CHAPTER VII

The Lincoln's-Inn-Fields company were, now in 1693, a commonwealth, like that of Holland, divided from the tyranny of Spain. But the similitude goes very little farther; short was the duration of the theatrical power! for tho' success pour'd in so fast upon them, at their first opening, that everything seem'd to support itself; yet experience in a year or two shew'd them, that they had never been worse govern'd than when they govern'd themselves! Many of them began to make their particular interest more their point, than that of the general; and tho' some deference might be had to the measures and advice of Betterton, several of them wanted to govern, in their turn; and were often out

of humor that their opinion was not equally regarded.—But have we not seen the same infirmity in senates? The tragedians seem'd to think their rank as much above the comedians, as in the characters they severally acted; when the first were in their finery, the latter were impatient, at the expense; and look'd upon it as rather laid out upon the real, than the fictitious person of the actor; nay, I have known, in our own company, this ridiculous sort of regret carried so far, that the tragedian has thought himself injured when the *comedian* pretended to wear a fine coat! I remember Powel, upon surveying my first dress, in the *Relapse,* was out of all temper, and reproach'd our master in very rude terms, that he had not so good a suit to play Cæsar Borgia in! tho' he knew, at the same time, my Lord Foppington fill'd the house, when his bouncing Borgia would do little more than pay fiddles and candles to it. And though a character of vanity might be supposed more expensive in dress than possibly one of ambition; yet the high heart of this heroical actor could not bear that a comedian should ever pretend to be as well dress'd as himself. Thus again on the contrary, when Betterton proposed to set off a tragedy, the comedians were sure to murmur at the charge of it.

But alas! the vanity of applauded actors, when they are not crowded to, as they may have been, makes them naturally impute the change to any cause rather than the true one, satiety. They are mighty loth to think a town, once so fond of them, could ever be tired; and yet, at one time or other, more or less, thin houses have been the certain fate of the most prosperous actors, ever since I remember the stage! But against this evil the provident patentees had found out a relief, which the new house were not yet masters of, viz., never to pay their people, when the money did not come in; nor then neither, but in such proportions as suited their conveniency. I myself was one of the many, who for six acting weeks together, never received one day's pay; and for some years after, seldom had above half our nominal salaries. But to the best of my memory, the finances of the other house, held it not above one season more, before they were reduced to the same expedient of making the like scanty payments.

Such was the distress and fortune of both these companies, since their division from the Theater-Royal; either working at half wages, or by alternate successes, intercepting the bread from one another's mouths; irreconcilable enemies, yet without hope of relief, from a victory on either side; sometimes both parties reduced, and yet each supporting their spirits by seeing the other under the same calamity.

During this state of the stage it was that the lowest expedient was made use of, to ingratiate our company, in the public favor. Our master, who had some time practiced the law, and therefore loved a storm better than fair weather (for it was his own conduct chiefly that had brought the patent into these dangers), took nothing so much to heart, as that partiality, wherewith he imagined the people of quality had preferr'd the actors of the other house, to those of his own. To balance this misfortune, he was resolv'd, at last, to be well with their domestics, and therefore cunningly open'd the upper gallery to them gratis. For before this time no footman was ever admitted, or had presum'd to come into it, till after the fourth act was ended. This additional privilege (the greatest plague that ever playhouse had to complain of) he conceived would not only incline them to give us a good word in the respective families they belong'd to, but would naturally incite them, to come all hands aloft, in the crack of our applauses. And indeed it so far succeeded, that it often thunder'd from the full gallery above, while our thin pit, and boxes below, were in the utmost serenity. This riotous privilege, so craftily given, and which from custom, was at last ripen'd into right, became the most disgraceful nuisance that ever depreciated the theater. How often have the most polite audiences, in the most affecting scenes of the best plays, been disturb'd and insulted by the noise and clamor of these savage spectators? From the same narrow way of thinking too, were so many ordinary people, and unlick'd cubs of condition, admitted behind our scenes, for money, and sometimes without it. The plagues and inconveniences of which custom, we found so intolerable, when we afterwards had the stage in our hands, that at the hazard of our lives, we were forced to get rid of them; and our only expedient was by refusing money from all persons, without

distinction, at the stage-door; by this means we preserved to ourselves the right and liberty of choosing our own company there; and by a strict observance of this order, we brought what had been before debas'd into all the licenses of a lobby, into the decencies of a drawing-room.

CHAPTER VIII

THOUGH the master of our theater had no conception himself of theatrical merit, either in authors, or actors; yet his judgment was govern'd by a saving rule in both: he look'd into his receipts for the value of a play, and from common fame he judg'd of his actors. But by whatever rule he was govern'd, while he had prudently reserv'd to himself a power of not paying them more than their merit could get, he could not be much deceived by their being over- or under-valued. In a word he had, with great skill, inverted the constitution of the stage, and quite changed the channel of profits arising from it; formerly (when there was but one company) the proprietors punctually paid the actors their appointed salaries, and took to themselves only the clear profits. But our wiser proprietor, took first out of every day's receipts two shillings in the pound to himself, and left their salaries to be paid, only, as the less, or greater deficiencies of acting (according to his own accounts) would permit. What seem'd most extraordinary in these measures was that, at the same time, he had persuaded us to be contented with our condition, upon his assuring us that, as fast as money would come in, we should all be paid our arrears. And that we might not have it always in our power to say he had never intended to keep his word; I remember in a few years, after this time, he once paid us nine days, in one week. This happen'd, when the *Funeral,* or *Grief à la Mode* was first acted, with more than expected success. Whether this well-tim'd bounty was only allow'd us, to save appearances, I will not say. But if that was his real motive for it, it was too costly a frolic to be repeated, and was, at least, the only grimace of its kind he vouchsafed us; we never having received one day more of those arrears, in above fifteen years' service.

While the actors were in this condition, I think I may very well be excused in my presuming to write plays; which

I was forced to do, for the support of my increasing family, my precarious income, as an actor, being then too scanty to supply it with even the necessaries of life.

It may be observable too, that my muse and my spouse were equally prolific; that the one was seldom the mother of a child, but in the same year the other made me the father of a play. I think we had a dozen of each sort between us; of both which kinds some died in their infancy, and near an equal number of each were alive when I quitted the theater. —But it is no wonder, when a muse is only call'd upon, by family duty, she should not always rejoice in the fruit of her labor. To this necessity of writing then, I attribute the defects of my second play, which coming out too hastily, the year after my first, turn'd to very little account. But having got as much, by my first, as I ought to have expected from the success of them both, I had no great reason to complain. Not but, I confess so bad was my second, that I do not choose to tell you the name of it; and that it might be peaceably forgotten, I have not given it a place in the two volumes of those I published in quarto in the year 1721. And whenever I took upon me to make some dormant play of an old author, to the best of my judgment, fitter for the stage, it was honestly, not to be idle, that set me to work; as a good housewife, will mend old linen, when she has not better employment. But when I was warmly engag'd by a subject entirely new, I only thought it a good subject, when it seem'd worthy of an abler pen than my own, and might prove as useful to the hearer, as profitable to myself. Therefore, whatever any of my productions might want of skill, learning, wit, or humor, or however unqualify'd I might be to instruct others, who so ill-govern'd myself; yet such plays (entirely my own) were not wanting, at least, in what our most admired writers seem'd to neglect, and without which I cannot allow the most taking play to be intrinsically good, or to be a work upon which a man of sense and probity should value himself. I mean when they do not, as well *prodesse,* as *delectare,* give profit with delight! The *utile dulci* was, of old, equally the point; and has always been my aim, however wide of the mark I may have shot my arrow. It has often given me amazement, that our best authors of that time could think

the wit and spirit of their scenes could be an excuse for making the looseness of them public. The many instances of their talents so abused, are too glaring to need a closer comment, and are sometimes too gross to be recited. If then to have avoided this imputation, or rather to have had the interest and honor of virtue always in view, can give merit to a play; I am contented that my readers should think such merit, the all, that mine have to boast of.—Libertines of mere wit, and pleasure, may laugh at these grave laws, that would limit a lively genius; but every sensible honest man, conscious of their truth, and use, will give these ralliers smile for smile, and shew a due contempt for their merriment.

But while our authors took these extraordinary liberties with their wit, I remember the ladies were then observ'd to be decently afraid of venturing bare-fac'd to a new comedy, till they had been assur'd they might do it, without the risk of an insult to their modesty.—Or, if their curiosity were too strong for their patience, they took care, at least, to save appearances, and rarely came upon the first days of acting but in masks (then daily worn, and admitted in the pit, the side boxes, and gallery), which custom, however, had so many ill consequences attending it, that it has been abolish'd these many years.

These immoralities of the stage had by an avow'd indulgence been creeping into it ever since King Charles his time; nothing that was loose could then be too low for it. The *London Cuckolds,* the most rank play that ever succeeded, was then in the highest court-favor. In this almost general corruption, Dryden, whose plays were more fam'd for their wit than their chastity, led the way, which he fairly confesses, and endeavors to excuse, in his epilogue to the *Pilgrim,* reviv'd in 1700 for his benefit, in his declining age and fortune.

Our theatrical writers were not only accus'd of immorality, but profaneness, many flagrant instances of which were collected and published by a non-juring clergyman, Jeremy Collier, in his *View of the Stage,* etc., about the year 1697. However just his charge against the authors, that then wrote for it, might be; I cannot but think his sentence against the stage itself is unequal; reformation he thinks too mild a

treatment for it, and is therefore for laying his ax to the root of it. If this were to be a rule of judgment, for offenses of the same nature, what might become of the pulpit, where many a seditious and corrupted teacher has been known to cover the most pernicious doctrine with the mask of religion? This puts me in mind of what the noted Jo. Hains, the comedian, a fellow of a wicked wit, said upon this occasion; who being ask'd what could transport Mr. Collier into so blind a zeal for a general suppression of the stage, when only some particular authors had abus'd it? Whereas the stage, he could not but know, was generally allow'd, when rightly conducted, to be a delightful method of mending our morals? "For that reason," reply'd Hains: "Collier is by profession a moral-mender himself, and two of a trade, you know, can never agree."

The authors of the *Old Bachelor,* and of the *Relapse,* were those whom Collier most labor'd to convict of immorality; to which they severally publish'd their reply; the first seem'd too much hurt, to be able to defend himself, and the other felt him so little, that his wit only laugh'd at his lashes.

My first play of the *Fool in Fashion,* too, being then in a course of success; perhaps, for that reason only, this severe author bethought himself oblig'd to attack it; in which, I hope, he has shewn more zeal than justice, his greatest charge against it is, that it sometimes uses the word Faith! as an oath, in the dialogue. But if Faith may as well signify our given word, or credit, as our religious belief, why might not his charity have taken it in the less criminal sense? Nevertheless, Mr. Collier's book was upon the whole thought so laudable a work, that King William, soon after it was publish'd, granted him a *nolo prosequi,* when he stood answerable to the law for his having absolved two criminals, just before they were executed, for high treason. And it must be farther granted that his calling our dramatic writers to this strict account, had a very wholesome effect upon those who writ after this time. They were now a great deal more upon their guard; indecencies were no longer writ; and by degrees the fair sex came again to fill the boxes on the first day of a new comedy, without fear or censure. But the Master of the Revels, who then licens'd all plays for the stage, assisted the

reformation with a more zealous severity than ever. He would strike out whole scenes of a vicious, or immoral character, tho' it were visibly shewn to be reform'd, or punish'd; a severe instance of this kind falling upon myself, may be an excuse for my relating it. When *Richard the Third* (as I alter'd it from Shakespeare) came from his hands to the stage, he expung'd the whole first act, without sparing a line of it. This extraordinary stroke of a *sic volo* occasion'd my applying to him for the small indulgence of a speech or two; that the other four acts might limp on, with a little less absurdity! No! he had not leisure to consider what might be separately inoffensive. He had an objection to the whole act, and the reason he gave for it was, that the distresses of King Henry the Sixth, who is kill'd by Richard in the first act, would put weak people too much in mind of King James then living in France; a notable proof of his zeal for the government! Those who have read either the play, or the history, I dare say, will think he strain'd hard for the parallel.

Although it had been taken for granted, from time immemorial, that no company of comedians could act plays, etc., without the royal license, or protection of some legal authority; a theater was, notwithstanding, erected in Goodman's-Fields, about seven years ago, where plays, without any such license, were acted for some time unmolested and with impunity. After a year or two, this playhouse was thought a nuisance too near the city; upon which the Lord Mayor, and aldermen, petition'd the crown to suppress it. What steps were taken, in favor of that petition, I know not, but common fame seem'd to allow from what had, or had not been done in it, that acting plays in the said theater was not evidently unlawful. However, this question of acting without a license, a little time after, came to a nearer decision in Westminster-Hall; the occasion of bringing it thither was this: It happened that the purchasers of the patent, to whom Mr. Booth and myself had sold our shares, were at variance with the comedians that were then left to their government, and the variance ended in the chief of those comedians deserting and setting up for themselves in the little house in the Hay-Market, in 1733, by which desertion the patentees were very much distressed and considerable losers. Their

affairs being in this desperate condition, they were advis'd to put the act of the twelfth of Queen Anne, against vagabonds, in force against these deserters, then acting in the Hay-Market without license. Accordingly, one of their chief performers was taken from the stage by a justice of peace his warrant, and committed to Bridewell, as one within the penalty of the said act. When the legality of this commitment was disputed in Westminster-Hall, by all I could observe, from the learned pleadings on both sides (for I had the curiosity to hear them), it did not appear to me that the comedian, so committed, was within the description of the said act, he being a housekeeper, and having a vote for the Westminster members of parliament. He was discharged accordingly, and conducted through the hall, with the congratulations of the crowds that attended, and wish'd well to his cause.

The issue of this trial threw me, at that time, into a very odd reflection, viz.: that if acting plays, without license, did not make the performers vagabonds, unless they wandered from their habitations so to do, how particular was the case of us three late managing actors, at the Theater-Royal, who in twenty years before had paid, upon an average, at least twenty thousand pounds, to be protected (as actors) from a law that has not since appeared to be against us. Now, whether we might certainly have acted without any license at all, I shall not pretend to determine; but this I have, of my own knowledge, to say, that in Queen Anne's reign, the stage was in such confusion, and its affairs in such distress, that Sir John Vanbrugh, and Mr. Congreve, after they had held it about one year, threw up the management of it, as an unprofitable post, after which a license for acting was not thought worth any gentleman's asking for, and almost seem'd to go a begging, till some time after, by the care, application, and industry of three actors, it became so prosperous, and the profits so considerable, that it created a new place, and a *sinecure* of a thousand pounds a year, which the labor of those actors constantly paid, to such persons as had from time to time merit or interest enough to get their names inserted as fourth managers in a license with them, for acting plays, etc., a preferment that many a Sir Francis Wronghead

would have jump'd at. But to go on with my story. This endeavor of the patentees to suppress the comedians acting in the Hay-Market proving ineffectual, and no hopes of a reunion then appearing, the remains of the company left in Drury-Lane were reduced to a very low condition. At this time a third purchaser, Charles Fleetwood, Esq., stept in; who judging the best time to buy was when the stock was at the lowest price, struck up a bargain at once for five parts in six of the patent; and, at the same time, gave the revolted comedians their own terms to return, and come under his government in Drury-Lane, where they now continue to act, at very ample salaries, as I am informed, in 1738. But (as I have observ'd) the late cause of the prosecuted comedian having gone so strongly in his favor, and the house in Goodman's-Field too, continuing to act with as little authority, unmolested; these so tolerated companies gave encouragement to a broken wit to collect a fourth company, who for some time acted plays in the Hay-Market, which house the united Drury-Lane comedians had lately quitted. This enterprising person, I say (whom I do not choose to name, unless it could be to his advantage, or that it were of importance) had sense enough to know that the best plays, with bad actors, would turn but to a very poor account; and therefore found it necessary to give the public some pieces of an extraordinary kind, the poetry of which he conceiv'd ought to be so strong, that the greatest dunce of an actor could not spoil it. He knew too, that as he was in haste to get money, it would take up less time to be intrepidly abusive, than decently entertaining; that, to draw the mob after him, he must take the channel, and pelt their superiors. Such then was the mettlesome modesty he set out with; upon this principle he produc'd several frank and free farces, that seem'd to knock all distinctions of mankind on the head: Religion, laws, government, priests, judges, and ministers, were all laid flat at the feet of this Herculean satirist! This Drawcansir in wit, that spared neither friend nor foe! who, to make his poetical fame immortal, like another Erostratus, set fire to his stage, by writing up to an act of parliament to demolish it. I shall not give the particular strokes of his ingenuity a chance to be remembered by reciting them; it may be enough

to say, in general terms, they were so openly flagrant, that the wisdom of the legislature thought it high time to take a proper notice of them.

Having now shewn by what means there came to be four theaters, besides a fifth for operas, in London, all open at the same time, and that while they were so numerous, it was evident some of them must have starv'd, unless they fed upon the trash and filth of buffoonery and licentiousness; I now come, as I promis'd, to speak of that necessary law, which has reduced their number, and prevents the repetition of such abuses, in those that remain open, for the public recreation.

If I am ask'd why I am so voluntary a champion for the honor of this law, that has limited the number of play-houses, and which now can no longer concern me, as a professor of the stage? I reply, that it being a law, so nearly relating to the theater, it seems not at all foreign to my history to have taken notice of it; and as I have farther promised to give the public a true portrait of my mind, I ought fairly to let them see how far I am, or am not a blockhead, when I pretend to talk of serious matters that may be judg'd so far above my capacity. Nor will it in the least discompose me whether my observations are contemn'd or applauded. A blockhead is not always an unhappy fellow, and if the world will not flatter us, we can flatter ourselves; perhaps too it will be as difficult to convince us we are in the wrong, as that you wiser gentlemen are one tittle the better for your knowledge. It is yet a question with me, whether we weak heads have not as much pleasure too, in giving our shallow reason a little exercise, as those clearer brains have that are allow'd to dive into the deepest doubts and mysteries; to reflect, or form a judgment upon remarkable things *past,* is as delightful to me, as it is to the gravest politician to penetrate into what is *present,* or to enter into speculations upon what is, or is not likely to come. Why are histories written, if all men are not to judge of them? Therefore, if my reader has no more to do than I have, I have a chance for his being as willing to have a little more upon the same subject as I am to give it him.

When direct arguments against this bill were found too

weak, recourse was had to dissuasive ones. It was said that this restraint upon the stage would not remedy the evil complain'd of: that a play refus'd to be licensed, would still be printed, with double advantage, when it should be insinuated that it was refused for some strokes of wit, etc., and would be more likely, then, to have its effect among the people. However natural this consequence may seem, I doubt it will be very difficult to give a *printed* satire, or libel, half the force, or credit of an *acted* one. The most artful or notorious lie, or strain'd allusion that ever slander'd a great man, may be read, by some people, with a smile of contempt, or at worst, it can impose but on one person at once. But when the words of the same plausible stuff shall be repeated on a theater, the wit of it among a crowd of hearers is liable to be overvalued, and may unite and warm a whole body of the malicious, or ignorant, into a plaudit.

Upon the whole; if the stage ought ever to have been reform'd; if to place a power *somewhere* of restraining its immoralities, was not inconsistent with the liberties of a civiliz'd people (neither of which, sure any moral man of sense can dispute), might it not have shewn a spirit too poorly prejudiced, to have rejected so rational a law only because the honor and office of a minister might happen, in some small measure, to be protected by it?

But however little weight there may be in the observations I have made upon it, I shall for my own part always think them just; unless I should live to see (which I do not expect) some future set of upright ministers use their utmost endeavors to repeal it.

And now we have seen the consequence of what many people are apt to contend for—variety of play-houses! How was it possible so many could honestly subsist on what was fit to be seen? Their extraordinary number, of course, reduc'd them to live upon the gratification of such hearers as they knew would be best pleased with public offense; and public offense, of what kind soever, will always be a good reason for making laws to restrain it.

To conclude, let us now consider this law in a quite different light; let us leave the political part of it quite out of the question; what advantage could either the spectators of

plays, or the masters of play-houses have gain'd, by its having never been made? How could the same stock of plays supply four theaters, which (without such additional entertainments as a nation of common sense ought to be ashamed of) could not well support two? Satiety must have been the natural consequence of the same plays being twice as often repeated as now they need be, and satiety puts an end to all tastes that the mind of man can delight in. Had therefore this law been made seven years ago, I should not have parted with my share in the patent under a thousand pounds more than I received for it.—So that as far as I am able to judge, both the public, as spectators, and the patentees, as undertakers, are, or might be, in a way of being better entertain'd and more considerable gainers by it.

I now return to the state of the stage, where I left it, about the year 1697, from whence this pursuit of its immoralities has led me farther than I first design'd to have follow'd it.

CHAPTER IX

I NOW begin to doubt that the *Gayeté du Cœur,* in which I first undertook this work, may have drawn me into a more laborious amusement than I shall know how to away with. For though I cannot say I have yet jaded my vanity, it is not impossible but, by this time, the most candid of my readers may want a little breath; especially, when they consider, that all this load I have heap'd upon their patience contains but seven years of the forty-three I pass'd upon the stage; the history of which period I have enjoin'd myself to transmit to the judgment (or oblivion) of posterity. However, even my dullness will find somebody to do it right; if my reader is an ill-natur'd one, he will be as much pleased to find me a dunce in my old age, as possibly he may have been to prove me a brisk blockhead in my youth. But if he has no gall to gratify, and would (for his simple amusement) as well know how the play-houses went on forty years ago, as how they do now, I will honestly tell him the rest of my story as well as I can. Lest therefore the frequent digressions that have broken in upon it may have entangled his memory, I must beg leave just to throw together the heads

of what I have already given him, that he may again recover the clue of my discourse.

Let him, then, remember, from the year 1660 to 1684, the various fortune of the (then) king's and duke's two famous companies; their being reduced to one united; the distinct characters I have given of those actors, which in the year 1690 were the most famous, then, remaining of them; the cause of their being again divided in 1695, and the consequences of that division, till 1697; from whence I shall lead them to our second union in ——. Hold! let me see—aye, it was in that memorable year, when the two kingdoms of England and Scotland were made one. And I remember a particular that confirms me I am right in my chronology; for the play of *Hamlet* being acted soon after, Estcourt, who then took upon him to say anything, added a fourth line to Shakespeare's prologue to the play, in that play which originally consisted but of three, but Estcourt made it run thus:

> For us, and for our tragedy,
> Thus stooping to your clemency,
> [*This being a year of unity*]
> We beg your hearing patiently.

This new chronological line coming unexpectedly upon the audience was received with applause, tho' several grave faces look'd a little out of humor at it. However, by this fact, it is plain our theatrical union happen'd in 1707. But to speak of it, in its place, I must go a little back again.

From 1697, to this union, both companies went on, without any memorable change in their affairs, unless it were that Betterton's people (however good in their kind) were most of them too far advanc'd in years to mend; and tho' we, in Drury Lane, were too young to be excellent, we were not too old to be better. But what will not satiety depreciate? For though I must own, and avow, that in our highest prosperity I always thought we were greatly their inferiors; yet by our good fortune of being seen in quite new lights, which several new-written plays had shewn us in, we now began to make a considerable stand against them. One good new play, to a rising company, is of inconceivable value. In *Oroonoko* (and why may I not name another, tho' it be my

own?), in *Love's Last Shift,* and in the sequel of it, the *Relapse,* several of our people shew'd themselves in a new style of acting, in which nature had not as yet been seen. I cannot here forget a misfortune that befell our society, about this time, by the loss of a young actor, Hildebrand Horden, who was kill'd at the bar of the Rose-Tavern, in a frivolous, rash, accidental quarrel; for which a late resident at Venice, Colonel Burgess, and several other persons of distinction, took their trials, and were acquitted. This young man had almost every natural gift that could promise an excellent actor; he had besides a good deal of table-wit, and humor, with a handsome person, and was every day rising into public favor. Before he was bury'd, it was observable, that two or three days together, several of the fair sex, well dress'd, came in masks (then frequently worn) and some in their own coaches, to visit this theatrical hero, in his shroud. He was the elder son of Dr. Horden, minister of Twickenham, in Middlesex. But this misfortune was soon repair'd by the return of Wilks, from Dublin (who upon this young man's death was sent for over), and liv'd long enough among us to enjoy that approbation from which the other was so unhappily cut off. The winter following, Estcourt, the famous mimic, of whom I have already spoken, had the same invitation from Ireland, where he had commenc'd actor. His first part here, at the Theater-Royal, was the Spanish Friar, in which, tho' he had remembered every look and motion of the late Tony Leigh, so far as to put the spectator very much in mind of him; yet it was visible through the whole, notwithstanding his exactness in the out-lines, the true spirit, that was to fill up the figure, was not the same, but unskillfully daub'd on, like a child's painting upon the face of a metzotinto; it was too plain to the judicious, that the conception was not his own, but imprinted in his memory by another of whom he only presented a dead likeness. But these were defects, not so obvious to common spectators; no wonder, therefore, if by his being much sought after, in private companies, he met with a sort of indulgence, not to say partiality, for what he sometimes did upon the stage.

In the year 1699 Mrs. Oldfield was first taken into the house, where she remain'd about a twelvemonth almost a

mute, and unheeded, till Sir John Vanbrugh, who first recommended her, gave her the part of Alinda, in the *Pilgrim* revis'd. This gentle character happily became that want of confidence which is inseparable from young beginners, who, without it, seldom arrive to any excellence. Notwithstanding, I own I was, then, so far deceiv'd in my opinion of her, that I thought she had little more than her person that appear'd necessary to the forming a good actress; for she set out with so extraordinary a diffidence, that it kept her too despondingly down to a formal, plain (not to say), flat manner of speaking. Nor could the silver tone of her voice, till after some time, incline my ear to any hope in her favor. But public approbation is the warm weather of a theatrical plant, which will soon bring it forward, to whatever perfection nature has design'd it. However Mrs. Oldfield (perhaps for want of fresh parts) seem'd to come but slowly forward, till the year 1703. Our company, that summer, acted at the Bath, during the residence of Queen Anne at that place. At that time it happen'd that Mrs. Verbruggen, by reason of her last sickness (of which she some few months after, dy'd), was left in London; and though most of her parts were, of course, to be dispos'd of, yet so earnest was the female scramble for them, that only one of them fell to the share of Mrs. Oldfield, that of Leonora, in *Sir Courtly Nice;* a character of good plain sense, but not over elegantly written. It was in this part Mrs. Oldfield surpris'd me into an opinion of her having all the innate powers of a good actress, though they were yet but in the bloom of what they promis'd. Before she had acted this part, I had so cold an expectation from her abilities, that she could scarce prevail with me to rehearse with her the scenes she was chiefly concern'd in, with Sir Courtly, which I then acted. However, we ran them over, with a mutual inadvertency of one another. I seem'd careless, as concluding that any assistance I could give her would be to little or no purpose; and she mutter'd out her words in a sort of misty manner at my low opinion of her. But when the play came to be acted, she had a just occasion to triumph over the error of my judgment, by the (almost) amazement that her unexpected performance awak'd me to; so forward and sudden a step into nature, I had never seen; and what

made her performance more valuable, was that I knew it all proceeded from her own understanding, untaught, and unassisted by any one more experienc'd actor. Perhaps it may not be unacceptable if I enlarge a little more upon the theatrical characters of so memorable an actress.

Though this part of Leonora in itself was of so little value, that when she got more into esteem it was one of the several she gave away to inferior actresses; yet it was the first (as I have observ'd) that corrected my judgment of her, and confirm'd me in a strong belief that she could not fail, in a very little time, of being what she was afterwards allow'd to be, the foremost ornament of our theater. Upon this unexpected sally, then, of the power and disposition of so unforeseen an actress, it was, that I again took up the two first acts of the *Careless Husband,* which I had written the summer before, and had thrown aside in despair of having justice done to the character of Lady Betty Modish by any one woman then among us; Mrs. Verbruggen being now in a very declining state of health, and Mrs. Bracegirdle out of my reach, and engag'd in another company. But, as I have said, Mrs. Oldfield having thrown out such new proffers of a genius, I was no longer at a loss for support; my doubts were dispell'd, and I had now a new call to finish it. Accordingly, the *Careless Husband* took its fate upon the stage, the winter following, in 1704. Whatever favorable reception this comedy has met with from the public, it would be unjust in me not to place a large share of it to the account of Mrs. Oldfield; not only from the uncommon excellence of her action, but even from her personal manner of conversing.

With the acquisition, then, of so advanc'd a comedian as Mrs. Oldfield, and the addition of one so much in favor as Wilks, and by the visible improvement of our other actors, as Penkethman, Johnson, Bullock, and I think I may venture to name myself in the number (but in what rank I leave to the judgment of those who have been my spectators), the reputation of our company began to get ground; Mrs. Oldfield and Mr. Wilks, by their frequently playing against one another, in our best comedies, very happily supported that humor and vivacity which is so peculiar to our English stage.

CHAPTER X

While the stage was thus recovering its former strength, a more honorable mark of favor was shewn to it, than it was ever known before, or since, to have receiv'd. The then Lord Hallifax was not only the patron of the men of genius of this time, but had likewise a generous concern for the reputation and prosperity of the theater, from whence the most elegant dramatic labors of the learned, he knew, had often shone in their brightest luster. A proposal therefore was drawn up, and addressed to that noble lord, for his approbation and assistanee, to raise a publie subscription for reviving three plays of the best authors, with the full strength of the company; every subscriber to have three tickets, for the first day of each play, for his single payment of three guineas. This subseription his lordship so zealously encouraged, that from his reeommendation ehiefly, in a very little time, it was eompleted. The plays were *Julius Cæsar* of Shakespeare; the *King and no King* of Fletcher; and the eomie seenes of Dryden's *Marriage à la Mode,* and of his *Maiden Queen* put together, for it was judg'd, that as these comic episodes were utterly independent of the serious scenes, they were originally written to, they might on this oceasion be as well episodes either to the other, and so make up five livelier aets between them; at least the project so well succeeded, that those comie parts have never since been replaced, but were eontinued to be jointly aeted, as one play, several years after.

By the aid of this subscription, which happen'd in 1707, and by the additional strength and industry of this company, not only the aetors (several of which were handsomely advanc'd in their salaries) were duly paid, but the manager himself too, at the foot of his account, stood a eonsiderable gainer.

At the same time the patentee of Drury-Lane went on in his usual method of paying extraordinary prices to singers, daneers, and other exotic performers, which were as constantly deducted out of the sinking salaries of his actors. 'Tis true, his actors, perhaps, might not deserve much more than he gave them; yet, by what I have related, it is plain

he chose not to be troubled with such as visibly had deserv'd more. For it seems he had not purchas'd his share of the patent to mend the stage, but to make money of it; and to say truth, his sense of everything to be shewn there was much upon a level with the taste of the multitude, whose opinion and whose money weigh'd with him full as much as that of the best judges. His point was to please the majority, who could more easily comprehend anything they *saw*, than the daintiest things that could be said to them. But in this notion he kept no medium; for in my memory, he carry'd it so far that he was (some few years before this time) actually dealing for an extraordinary fine elephant, at a certain sum, for every day he might think fit to shew the tractable genius of that vast quiet creature, in any play or farce, in the theater (then standing) in Dorset-Garden. But from the jealousy which so formidable a rival had rais'd in his dancers, and by his bricklayer's assuring him that if the walls were to be open'd wide enough for its entrance, it might endanger the fall of the house, he gave up his project, and with it so hopeful a prospect of making the receipts of the stage run higher than all the wit and force of the best writers had ever yet rais'd them to.

About the same time of his being under this disappointment, he put in practice another project of as new, though not as so bold a nature; which was his introducing a set of rope-dancers into the same theater; for the first day of whose performance, he had given out some play in which I had a material part; but I was hardy enough to go into the pit, and acquaint the spectators near me, that I hop'd they would not think it a mark of my disrespect to them, if I declin'd acting upon any stage that was brought to so low a disgrace as ours was like to be by that day's entertainment. My excuse was so well taken, that I never after found any ill consequences, or heard of the least disapprobation of it; and the whole body of actors too, protesting against such an abuse of their profession, our cautious master was too much alarm'd and intimidated to repeat it.

After what I have said, it will be no wonder that all due regards to the original use and institution of the stage should be utterly lost or neglected. Nor was the conduct of this

manager easily to be alter'd, while he had found the secret of making money out of disorder and confusion; for however strange it may seem, I have often observ'd him inclin'd to be cheerful in the distresses of his theatrical affairs, and equally reserv'd and pensive when they went smoothly forward with a visible profit. Upon a run of good audiences, he was more frighted to be thought a gainer, which might make him accountable to others, than he was dejected with bad houses, which at worst, he knew would make others accountable to him; and as, upon a moderate computation, it cannot be supposed that the contested accounts of a twenty years' wear and tear in a play-house, could be fairly adjusted by a Master in Chancery, under four-score years more, it will be no surprise, that by the neglect, or rather the discretion of other proprietors, in not throwing away good money after bad, this hero of a manager, who alone supported the war, should in time so fortify himself by delay, and so tire his enemies, that he became sole monarch of his theatrical empire, and left the quiet possession of it to his successors.

If these facts seem so trivial for the attention of a sensible reader, let it be consider'd that they are not chosen fictions to *entertain,* but truths necessary to *inform* him, under what low shifts and disgraces, what disorders and revolutions, the stage labor'd, before it could recover that strength and reputation wherewith it began to flourish, towards the latter end of Queen Anne's reign; and which it continued to enjoy for a course of twenty years following.

CHAPTER XI

From the time that the company of actors, in the Hay-Market, was recruited with those from Drury-Lane, and came into the hands of their new director, Swiney, the theater, for three or four years following, suffer'd so many convulsions, and was thrown every other winter under such different interests and management, before it came to a firm and lasting settlement, that I am doubtful if the most candid reader will have patience to go through a full and fair account of it; and yet I would fain flatter myself, that those who are not too wise to frequent the theater (or have wit

enough to distinguish what sort of sights there either do honor or disgrace to it) may think their national diversion no contemptible subject for a more able historian than I pretend to be. If I have any particular qualification for the task, more than another, it is that I have been an ocular witness of the several facts that are to fill up the rest of my volume; and am, perhaps, the only person living (however unworthy) from whom the same materials can be collected; but let them come from whom they may, whether, at best, they will be worth reading, perhaps a judgment may be better form'd after a patient perusal of the following digression.

In whatever cold esteem the stage may be among the wise and powerful, it is not so much a reproach to those who contentedly enjoy it in its lowest condition, as that condition of it is to those who (though they cannot but know to how valuable a public use a theater, well establish'd, might be rais'd) yet in so many civiliz'd nations, have neglected it. This perhaps will be call'd thinking my own wiser than all the wise heads in Europe. But, I hope, a more humble sense will be given to it; at least I only mean, that if so many governments have their reasons, for their disregard of their theaters, those reasons may be deeper than my capacity has yet been able to dive into; if therefore my simple opinion is a wrong one, let the singularity of it expose me. And tho' I am only building a theater in the air, it is there, however, at so little expense, and in so much a better taste, than any I have yet seen, that I cannot help saying of it, as a wiser man did (it may be) upon a wiser occasion:

Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti; si non—— Hor.

Give me leave to play, with my project, in fancy.

I say then, that as I allow nothing is more liable to debase, and corrupt the minds of a people, than a licentious theater; so under a just and proper establishment, it were possible to make it, as apparently the school of manners and of virtue. Were I to collect all the arguments that might be given for my opinion, or to inforce it by exemplary proofs, it might swell this short digression to a volume; I shall therefore trust

the validity of what I have laid down to a single fact, that may be still fresh in the memory of many living spectators. When the tragedy of *Cato* was first acted, let us call to mind the noble spirit of patriotism which that play then infus'd into the breasts of a free people that crowded to it; with what affecting force was that most elevated of human virtues recommended? Even the false pretenders to it felt an unwilling conviction, and made it a point of honor to be foremost, in their approbation; and this too at a time when the fermented nation had their different views of government. Yet the sublime sentiments of liberty, in that venerable character, rais'd, in every sensible hearer such conscious admiration, such compell'd assent to the conduct of a suffering virtue, as even *demanded* two almost irreconcilable parties to embrace and join in their equal applauses of it. Now, not to take from the merit of the writer, had that play never come to the stage, how much of this valuable effect of it must have been lost? It then could have had no more immediate weight with the public, than our poring upon the many ancient authors, thro' whose works the same sentiments have been perhaps less profitably dispers'd, tho' amongst millions of readers; but by bringing such sentiments to the theater, and into action, what a superior luster did they shine with? There, Cato breath'd again, in life; and though he perish'd in the cause of liberty, his virtue was victorious, and left the triumph of it in the heart of every melting spectator. If effects, like these, are laudable; if the representation of such plays can carry conviction with so much pleasure, to the understanding; have they not vastly the advantage of any other human helps to eloquence? What equal method can be found to lead, or stimulate the mind, to a quicker sense of truth and virtue, or warm a people into the love and practice of such principles, as might be at once a defense and honor to their country? In what shape could we listen to virtue with equal delight, or appetite of instruction? The mind of man is naturally free, and when he is compell'd, or menac'd into any opinion that he does not readily conceive, he is more apt to doubt the truth of it than when his capacity is led by delight into evidence and reason. To preserve a theater in this strength, and purity of morals, is, I grant,

what the wisest nations have not been able to perpetuate, or to transmit long to their posterity. But this difficulty will rather heighten, than take from the honor of the theater; the greatest empires have decay'd for want of proper heads to guide them, and the ruins of them sometimes have been the subject of theaters, that could not be themselves exempt from as various revolutions. Yet may not the most natural inference from all this be, that the talents requisite to form good actors, great writers, and true judges, were like those of wise and memorable ministers, as well the gifts of fortune, as of nature, and not always to be found, in all climes or ages? Or can there be a stronger modern evidence of the value of dramatic performances, than that in many countries, where the papal religion prevails, the holy policy (though it allows not to an actor Christian burial) is so conscious of the usefulness of his art, that it will frequently take in the assistance of the theater, to give even sacred history, in a tragedy, a recommendation to the more pathetic regard of their people? How can such principles, in the face of the world, refuse the bones of a wretch the lowest benefit of Christian charity, after having admitted his profession (for which they deprive him of that charity) to serve the solemn purposes of religion? How far, then, is this religious inhumanity short of that famous painter's, who, to make his crucifix a master-piece of nature, stabb'd the innocent hireling, from whose body he drew it; and having heighten'd the holy portrait, with his last agonies of life, then sent it to be the consecrated ornament of an altar? Though we have only the authority of common fame for this story, yet be it true or false, the comparison will still be just. Or let me ask another question more humanly political.

How came the Athenians to lay out an hundred thousand pounds upon the decorations of one single tragedy of Sophocles? Not, sure, as it was merely a spectacle for idleness, or vacancy of thought to gape at, but because it was the most rational, most instructive, and delightful composition, that human wit had yet arrived at; and consequently the most worthy to be the entertainment of a wise and warlike nation; and it may be still a question, whether the Sophocles inspir'd this public spirit, or this public spirit inspir'd the Sophocles.

To conclude this digression. If for the support of the stage, what is generally shewn there must be lower'd to the taste of common spectators; or if it is inconsistent with liberty to mend that vulgar taste, by making the multitude less merry there; or by abolishing every low and senseless jollity, in which the understanding can have no share; whenever, I say, such is the state of the stage, it will be as often liable to unanswerable censure and manifest disgraces. Yet there *was* a time, not yet out of many people's memory, when it subsisted upon its own rational labors; when even success attended an attempt to reduce it to decency; and when actors themselves were hardy enough to hazard their interest, in pursuit of so dangerous a reformation. And this crisis, I am myself as impatient as any tir'd reader can be to arrive at. I shall therefore endeavor to lead him the shortest way to it. But as I am a little jealous of the badness of the road, I must reserve to myself the liberty of calling upon any matter, in my way, for a little refreshment to whatever company may have the curiosity or goodness to go along with me.

When the sole managing patentee at Drury-Lane, for several years, could never be persuaded or driven to any account with the adventurers; Sir Thomas Skipwith (who, if I am rightly inform'd, had an equal share with him) grew so weary of the affair, that he actually made a present of his entire interest in it, upon the following occasion.

Sir Thomas happen'd, in the summer preceding the reunion of the companies, to make a visit to an intimate friend of his, Colonel Brett, of Sandywell, in Gloucestershire; where the pleasantness of the place, and the agreeable manner of passing his time there, had raised him to such a gallantry of heart, that, in return to the civilities of his friend the colonel, he made him an offer of his whole right in the patent; but not to over-rate the value of his present, told him he himself had made nothing of it these ten years. But the colonel (he said) being a greater favorite of the people in power, and (as he believ'd) among the actors too, than himself was, might think of some scheme to turn it to advantage, and in that light, if he lik'd it, it was at his service. After a great deal of raillery on both sides, of what Sir Thomas had not made of it, and the particular advantages the colonel was likely

to make of it; they came to a laughing resolution, that an instrument should be drawn the next morning, of an absolute conveyance of the premises. A gentleman of the law, well known to them both, happening to be a guest there, at the same time, the next day produced the deed, according to his instructions, in the presence of whom, and of others, it was sign'd, seal'd, and deliver'd to the purposes therein contain'd.

This transaction may be another instance (as I have elsewhere observed) at how low a value the interests, in a theatrical license, were then held.

CHAPTER XII

I HAVE, elsewhere, observed, that nothing can so effectually secure the strength, or contribute to the prosperity of a good company, as the directors of it having always, as near as possible, an amicable understanding with three or four of their best actors, whose good, or ill-will, must naturally make a wide difference in their profitable or useless manner of serving them. While the principal are kept reasonably easy, the lower class can never be troublesome, without hurting themselves; but when a valuable actor is hardly treated, the master must be a very cunning man that finds his account in it. We shall now see how far experience will verify this observation.

The patentees thinking themselves secure, in being restor'd to their former absolute power over this now only company, chose rather to govern it by the reverse of the method I have recommended; for tho' the daily charge of their united company amounted not, by a good deal, to what either of the two companies, now in Drury-Lane, or Covent-Garden, singly, arises; they notwithstanding fell into their former politics, of thinking every shilling taken from a hired actor so much clear gain to the proprietor. Many of their people, therefore, were actually, if not injudiciously, reduced in their pay, and others given to understand the same fate was design'd them; of which last number, I myself was one; which occurs to my memory, by the answer I made to one of the adventurers; who, in justification of their intended proceeding, told me that my salary, tho' it should be less than it was by ten shillings a week, would still be more than ever Goodman had,

who was a better actor than I could pretend to be. To which I reply'd, "This may be true, but then you know, sir, it is as true that Goodman was forced to go upon the high-way for a livelihood." As this was a known fact of Goodman, my mentioning it, on that occasion, I believe, was of service to me; at least my salary was not reduced after it. To say a word or two more of Goodman, so celebrated an actor in his time, perhaps may set the conduct of the patentees in a clearer light. Tho' Goodman had left the stage before I came to it, I had some slight acquaintance with him. About the time of his being expected to be an evidence against Sir John Fenwick, in the assassination-plot, in 1696, I happen'd to meet him at dinner, at Sir Thomas Skipwith's, who, as he was an agreeable companion himself, liked Goodman for the same quality.

On this occasion it was that Goodman, without disguise, or sparing himself, fell into a laughing account of several loose passages of *his* younger life; as his being expell'd the University of Cambridge, for being one of the hot-headed sparks, who were concern'd in the cutting and defacing the Duke of Monmouth's picture, then Chancellor of that place. But this disgrace, it seems, had not disqualified him for the stage; which, like the sea-service, refuses no man, for his morals, that is able-bodied. There, as an actor, he soon grew into a different reputation; but whatever his merit might be, the pay of a hired hero, in those days, was so very slow, that he was forced, it seems, to take the air (as he call'd it) and borrow what money the first man he met had about him. But this being his first exploit of that kind, which the scantiness of his theatrical fortune had reduced him to, King James was prevail'd upon to pardon him; which Goodman said, was doing him so particular an honor, that no man could wonder if his acknowledgment had carried him a little farther than ordinary into the interest of that prince. But as he had, lately, been out of luck, in backing his old master, he had now no way to get home the life he was out, upon his account, but by being under the same obligations to King William.

Another anecdote of him, though not quite so dishonorably enterprising, which I had from his own mouth, at a different time, will equally shew to what low shifts in life

the poor provision for good actors, under the early government of the patent, reduced them. In the younger days of their heroism, Captain Griffin, and Goodman, were confined by their moderate salaries, to the economy of lying together, in the same bed, and having but one whole shirt between them. One of them being under the obligation of a rendezvous with a fair lady, insisted upon his wearing it, out of his turn, which occasion'd so high a dispute, that the combat was immediately demanded, and accordingly their pretensions to it were decided by a fair tilt upon the spot, in the room where they lay. But whether Clytus or Alexander was obliged to see no company, till a worse could be wash'd for him, seems not to be a material point in their history or to my purpose.

By this rate of Goodman, who, till the time of his quitting the stage, never had more than what is call'd forty shillings a week, it may be judg'd how cheap the labor of actors had been formerly; and the patentees thought it a folly to continue the higher price (which their divisions had since raised them to) now there was but one market for them; but alas! they had forgot their former fatal mistake of squabbling with their actors, in 1695; nor did they make any allowance for the charges and operations of time, or enough consider the interest the actors had in the Lord Chamberlain, on whose protection they might always rely, and whose decrees had been less restrain'd by precedent than those of a Lord Chancellor.

In this mistaken view of their interest, the patentees, by treating their actors as enemies, really made them so; and when once the masters of a hired company think not their actors' hearts as necessary as their hands, they cannot be said to have agreed for above half the work they are able to do in a day. Or, if an unexpected success should, notwithstanding, make the profits, in any gross disproportion, greater than the wages; the wages will always have something worse than a murmur at the head of them, that will not only measure the merit of the actor by the gains of the proprietor, but will never naturally be quiet till every scheme of getting into property has been tried to make the servant his own master. And this, as far as experience can make me judge, will always be, in either of these cases, the state of our English theater.

What truth there may be, in this observation, we are now coming to a proof of.

To enumerate all the particular acts of power, in which the patentees daily bore hard upon *this,* now only company of actors, might be as tedious as unnecessary; I shall therefore come, at once, to their most material grievance, upon which they grounded their complaint to the Lord Chamberlain, who, in the year following, 1709, took effectual measures for their relief.

The patentees observing that the benefit-plays of the actors, towards the latter end of the season, brought the most crowded audiences in the year; began to think their own interests too much neglected, by these partial favors of the town, to their actors; and therefore judg'd it would not be impolitic, in such wholesome annual profits, to have a fellow-feeling with them. Accordingly, an *indulto* was laid of one third out of the profits of every benefit, for the proper use and behoof of the patent. But, that a clear judgment may be form'd of the equity or hardship of this imposition, it will be necessary to shew from whence, and from what causes, the actor's claim to benefits originally proceeded.

During the reign of King Charles, an actor's benefit had never been heard of. The first indulgence of this kind was given to Mrs. Barry (as has been formerly observed) in King James's time, in consideration of the extraordinary applause that had followed her performance. But there this favor rested, to her alone, till after the division of the only company in 1695, at which time the patentees were soon reduced to pay their actors, half in good words and half in ready money. In this precarious condition, some particular actors (however binding their agreements might be) were too poor, or too wise to go to law with a lawyer; and therefore rather chose to compound their arrears, for their being admitted to the chance of having them made up, by the profits of a benefit-play. This expedient had this consequence: that the patentees, tho' their daily audiences might, and did sometimes, mend, still kept the short subsistence of their actors at a stand, and grew more steady in their resolution so to keep them, as they found them less apt to mutiny, while their hope of being clear'd off, by a benefit, was depending. In

a year or two these benefits grew so advantageous, that they became, at last, the chief article in every actor's agreement.

Now though the agreements of these united actors, I am speaking of in 1708, were as yet only verbal; yet that made no difference in the honest obligation to keep them. But, as honor at that time happen'd to have but a loose hold of their consciences, the patentees rather chose to give it the slip, and went on with their work without it. No actor, therefore, could have his benefit fix'd, till he had first sign'd a paper, signifying his voluntary acceptance of it upon the above conditions, any claims from custom, to the contrary, notwithstanding. Several at first refus'd to sign this paper; upon which the next in rank were offer'd on the same conditions, to come before the refusers; this smart expedient got some few of the fearful the preference to their seniors; who, at last, seeing the time was too short for a present remedy, and that they must either come into the boat, or lose their tide, were forc'd to comply with what they, as yet, silently resented as the severest injury. In this situation, therefore, they chose to let the principal benefits be over, that their grievances might swell into some bulk before they made any application for redress to the Lord Chamberlain; who, upon hearing their general complaint, order'd the patentees to shew cause why their benefits had been diminish'd one third, contrary to the common usage? The patentees pleaded the sign'd agreement, and the actors' receipts of the other two thirds, in full satisfaction. But these were prov'd to have been exacted from them by the methods already mentioned. They notwithstanding insist upon them as lawful. But as law and equity do not always agree, they were look'd upon as unjust and arbitrary. Whereupon the patentees were warn'd at their peril to refuse the actors full satisfaction. But here it was thought necessary that judgment should be for some time respited, till the actors, who had leave so to do, could form a body strong enough to make the inclination of the Lord Chamberlain to relieve them practicable.

CHAPTER XIII

Collier, being now first-commission'd manager with the comedians, drove them too, to the last inch of a hard bargain

(the natural consequence of all treaties between power and necessity). He not only demanded six hundred a year, neat money, the price at which he had farm'd out his opera, and to make the business a *sine-cure* to him; but likewise insisted upon a moiety of two hundred, that had been levied upon us the year before, in aid of the operas; in all 700*l*. These large and ample conditions, considering in what hands we were, we resolv'd to swallow without wry faces; rather choosing to run any hazard, than contend with a formidable power against which we had no remedy. But so it happen'd, that fortune took better care of our interest, than we ourselves had like to have done; for had Collier accepted of our first offer, of an equal share with us, he had got three hundred pounds a year more, by complying with it, than by the sum he imposed upon us; our shares being never less than a thousand annually, to each of us, till the end of the queen's reign, in 1714. After which Collier's commission was superseded; his theatrical post, upon the accession of his late majesty, being given to Sir Richard Steele.

From these various revolutions, in the government of the theater, all owing to the patentees' mistaken principle of increasing their profits, by too far enslaving their people, and keeping down the price of good actors (and I could almost insist, that giving large salaries to bad ones could not have had a worse consequence), I say, when it is consider'd, that the authority for acting plays, etc., was thought of so little worth, that (as has been observ'd) Sir Thomas Skipwith gave away his share of it, and the adventurers had fled from it; that Mr. Congreve, at another time, had voluntarily resign'd it; and Sir John Vanbrugh (merely to get the rent of his new house paid) had, by leave of the Court, farm'd out his license to Swiney, who not without some hesitation had ventur'd upon it; let me say again, out of this low condition of the theater, was it not owing to the industry of three or four comedians, that a new place was now created for the crown to give away, without any expense attending it, well worth the acceptance of any gentleman, whose merit or services had no higher claim to preferment, and which Collier, and Sir Richard Steele, in the two last reigns, successively enjoy'd?

We are now come to that firm establishment of the theater,

which except the admittance of Booth into a share, and Dogget's retiring from it, met with no change or alteration for above twenty years after.

Collier, as has been said, having accepted of a certain appointment of seven hundred per annum; Wilks, Dogget, and myself were now the only acting managers, under the queen's license; which being a grant, but during pleasure, oblig'd us to a conduct that might not undeserve that favor. At this time we were all in the vigor of our capacities as actors, and our prosperity enabled us to pay, at least double the salaries, to what the same actors had usually receiv'd, or could have hoped for under the government of the patentees. Dogget, who was naturally an economist, kept our expenses and accounts, to the best of his power, within regulated bounds and moderation. Wilks, who had a stronger passion for glory than lucre, was a little apt to be lavish, in what was not always as necessary for the profit as the honor of the theater. As in these different tempers of my brother-managers, there might be equally something right and wrong, it was equally my business to keep well with them both; and tho' of the two, I was rather inclin'd to Dogget's way of thinking, yet I was always under the disagreeable restraint of not letting Wilks see it. Therefore, when in any material point of management they were ready to come to a rupture, I found it advisable to think neither of them absolutely in the wrong; but by giving to one as much of the right, in his opinion this way, as I took from the other in that, their differences were sometimes softened into concessions, that I have reason to think prevented many ill consequences in our affairs that otherwise might have attended them. But this was always to be done with a very gentle hand; for as Wilks was apt to be easily hurt by opposition, so when he felt it, he was as apt to be insupportable. However, there were some points in which we were always unanimous. In the twenty years, while we were our own directors, we never had a creditor that had occasion to come twice for his bill; every Monday morning discharged us of all demands, before we took a shilling for our own use. And from this time, we neither ask'd any actor, nor were desired by them, to sign any written agreement (to the best of my memory) whatsoever. The rate of

their respective salaries was only enter'd in our daily pay-roll, which plain record every one look'd upon as good as city-security; for where an honest meaning is mutual, the mutual confidence will be bond enough, in conscience, on both sides. But that I may not ascribe more to our conduct, than was really its due, I ought to give fortune her share of the commendation; for had not our success exceeded our expectation, it might not have been in our power, so thoroughly to have observed those rules of economy, justice, and lenity, which so happily supported us. But the severities and oppression we had suffer'd under our former masters, made us incapable of imposing them upon others; which gave our whole society the cheerful looks of a rescued people. But notwithstanding this general cause of content, it was not above a year or two before the imperfection of human nature began to shew itself in contrary symptoms. The merit of the hazards which the managers had run, and the difficulties they had combated, in bringing to perfection that revolution by which they had all so amply profited, in the amendment of their general income, began now to be forgotten; their acknowledgments, and thankful promises of fidelity, were no more repeated, or scarce thought obligatory. Ease and plenty, by an habitual enjoyment, had lost their novelty, and the largeness of their salaries seem'd rather lessen'd than advanc'd by the extraordinary gains of the undertakers; for that is the scale in which the hired actor will always weigh his performance; but whatever reason there may seem to be, in his case, yet as he is frequently apt to throw a little self-partiality into the balance, that consideration may a good deal alter the justness of it. While the actors, therefore, had this way of thinking, happy was it for the managers that their united interest was so inseparably the same, and that their skill and power in acting, stood in a rank so far above the rest, that if the whole body of private men had deserted them, it would yet have been an easier matter for the managers to have pick'd up recruits, than for the deserters to have found proper officers to head them. Here, then, in this distinction lay our security; our being actors ourselves, was an advantage to our government, which all former managers, who were only idle gentlemen, wanted. Nor was our establishment

easily to be broken, while our health and limbs enabled us to be joint-laborers in the work we were masters of.

The only actor, who, in the opinion of the public, seem'd to have had a pretense of being advanced to a share with us, was certainly Booth; but when it is consider'd how strongly he had opposed the measure that had made us managers, by setting himself at the head of an opposite interest, he could not as yet have much to complain of. Beside, if the court had thought him, now, an equal object of favor, it could not have been in our power to have oppos'd his preferment. This I mention, not to take from his merit, but to shew from what cause it was not, as yet, better provided for. Therefore it may be no vanity to say, our having at that time, no visible competitors on the stage, was the only interest that rais'd us to be the managers of it.

But here let me rest a while, and since, at my time of day, our best possessions are but ease and quiet, I must be content, if I will have sallies of pleasure, to take up with those only that are to be found in imagination. When I look back, therefore, on the storms of the stage we had been toss'd in; when I consider that various vicissitude of hopes and fears, we had for twenty years struggled with, and found ourselves, at last, thus safely set on shore, to enjoy the produce of our own labors; and to have rais'd those labors by our skill and industry, to a much fairer profit than our task-masters, by all their severe, and gripping government, had ever reap'd from them; a good-natur'd reader, that is not offended at the comparison of great things with small, will allow was a triumph, in proportion, equal to those that have attended the most heroic enterprises for liberty!

CHAPTER XIV

Notwithstanding the managing actors were, now, in a happier situation, than their utmost pretensions could have expected; yet it is not to be suppos'd but wiser men might have mended it. As we could not all govern ourselves, there were seasons when we were not all fit to govern others. Our passions, and our interest, drew not always the same way. *Self* had a great sway in our debates. We had our partialities; our prejudices, our favorites of less merit; and our

jealousies of those who came too near us; frailties which societies of higher consideration, while they are compos'd of men, will not always be free from. To have been constantly capable of unanimity, had been a blessing too great for our station. One mind, among three people, were to have had three masters to one servant; but when that one servant is called three different ways, at the same time, whose business is to be done first? For my own part, I was forced, almost all my life, to give up my share of him. And if I could, by art or persuasion, hinder others from making, what I thought, a wrong use of their power, it was the all and utmost I desired. Yet whatever might be our personal errors, I shall think I have no right to speak of them farther, than where the public entertainment was affected by them. If therefore, among so many, some particular actors were remarkable in any part of their private lives, that might sometimes make the world merry without doors, I hope my laughing friends will excuse me, if I do not so far comply with their desires or curiosity, as to give them a place in my history. I can only recommend such anecdotes to the amusement of a noble person, who (in case I conceal them) does me the flattering honor to threaten my work with a supplement. 'Tis enough for me that such actors had their merits, to the public. Let those recite their imperfections who are themselves without them. It is my misfortune not to have that qualification. Let us see, then (whatever was amiss in it), how our administration went forward.

When we were first invested with this power, the joy of our so unexpectedly coming into it, kept us, for some time, in amity and good-humor with one another; and the pleasure of reforming the many false measures, absurdities and abuses, that, like weeds, had suck'd up the due nourishment from the fruits of the theater, gave us, as yet, no leisure for private dissensions. Our daily receipts exceeded our imagination, and we seldom met, as a board, to settle our weekly accounts, without the satisfaction of joint-heirs, just in possession of an unexpected estate that had been distantly entail'd upon them. Such a sudden change of our condition, it may be imagin'd, could not but throw out of us a new spirit, in almost every play we appear'd in; nor did we ever sink into that common

negligence, which is apt to follow good-fortune. Industry, we knew, was the life of our business; that it not only conceal'd faults, but was of equal value to greater talents without it; which the decadence once of Betterton's company in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields had lately shewn us a proof of.

This, then, was that happy period when both actors and managers were in their highest enjoyment of general content and prosperity. Now it was that the politer world too, by their decent attention, their sensible taste, and their generous encouragements to authors and actors, once more saw that the stage, under a due regulation, was capable of being what the wisest ages thought it *might* be, the most rational scheme that human wit could form, to dissipate, with innocence, the cares of life; to allure even the turbulent, or ill-disposed from worse meditations, and to give the leisure hours of business and virtue an instructive recreation.

If this grave assertion is less recommended, by falling from the pen of a comedian, I must appeal, for the truth of it, to the tragedy of *Cato,* which was first acted in 1712. I submit to the judgment of those, who were then the sensible spectators of it, if the success and merit of that play, were not an evidence of every article of that value which I have given to a decent theater? But (as I was observing) it could not be expected the summer days, I am speaking of, could be the constant weather of the year; we had our clouded hours, well as our sunshine, and were not always in the same good-humor with one another. Fire, air, and water, could not be more vexatiously opposite than the different tempers of the three managers, though they might equally have their useful, as well as their destructive qualities.

From this time to the year 1712, my memory (from which repository alone, every article of what I write is collected) has nothing worth mentioning, till the first acting of the tragedy of *Cato.* As to the play itself, it might be enough to say, that the author and the actors had their different hopes of fame and profit amply answer'd by the performance; but as its success was attended with remarkable consequences, it may not be amiss to trace it, from its several years' concealment in the closet, to the stage.

In 1703, nine years before it was acted, I had the pleasure

of reading the first four acts (which was all of it then written) privately with Sir Richard Steele. It may be needless to say it was impossible to lay them out of my hand, till I had gone thro' them; or to dwell upon the delight, his friendship to the author receiv'd, upon my being so warmly pleas'd with them. But my satisfaction was as highly disappointed, when he told me, whatever spirit Mr. Addison had shewn in his writing it, he doubted he would never have courage enough to let his *Cato* stand the censure of an English audience; that it had only been the amusement of his leisure hours in Italy, and was never intended for the stage. This poetical diffidence Sir Richard himself spoke of with some concern, and in the transport of his imagination, could not help saying, "Good God! what a part would Betterton make of Cato!" But this was seven years before Betterton died, and when Booth (who afterwards made his fortune by acting it) was in his theatrical minority. In the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, when our national politics had changed hands, the friends of Mr. Addison then thought it a proper time to animate the public with the sentiments of *Cato;* in a word their importunities were too warm to be resisted; and it was no sooner finish'd, than hurried to the stage, in April 1712, at a time when three days a week were usually appointed for the benefit plays of particular actors. But a work of that critical importance was to make its way, through all private considerations; nor could it possibly give place to a custom, which the breach of could very little prejudice the benefits, that on so unavoidable an occasion, were (in part, tho' not wholly) postpon'd; it was therefore (Mondays excepted) acted every day for a month to constantly crowded houses. As the author had made us a present of whatever profits he might have claim'd from it, we thought ourselves obliged to spare no cost in the proper decorations of it. Its coming so late in the season, to the stage, prov'd of particular advantage to the sharing actors; because the harvest of our annual gains was generally over, before the middle of March; many select audiences being their usually reserv'd in favor to the benefits of private actors; which fixt engagements naturally abated the receipts of the days before and after them. But this unexpected after-crop of *Cato,* largely supplied to us

those deficiencies; and was almost equal to two fruitful seasons, in the same year; at the close of which, the three managing actors found themselves each a gainer of thirteen hundred and fifty pounds. But to return to the first reception of this play from the public.

Although *Cato* seems plainly written upon what are called Whig principles; yet the Tories of that time had sense enough not to take it as the least reflection upon their administration; but, on the contrary, they seem'd to brandish and vaunt their approbation of every sentiment in favor of liberty, which by a public act of their generosity, was carried so high, that one day, while the play was acting, they collected fifty guineas in the boxes, and made a present of them to Booth, with this compliment—"For his honest opposition to a perpetual dictator; and his dying so bravely in the cause of liberty." What was insinuated, by any part of these words, is not my affair; but so public a reward, had the appearance of a laudable spirit, which only such a play, as *Cato*, could have inspired. Nor could Booth be blam'd, if upon so particular a distinction of his merit, he began himself to set more value upon it. How far he might carry it, in making use of the favor he stood in with the certain nobleman, then in power, at court, was not difficult to penetrate; and indeed, ought always to have been expected by the managing actors; for which of them (making the case every way his own) could with such advantages, have contented himself in the humble station of an hired actor? But let us see how the managers stood severally affected upon this occasion.

Dogget, who expected, though he fear'd not, the attempt of what after happen'd, imagin'd he had thought of an expedient to prevent it; and to cover his design with all the art of a statesman, he insinuated to us (for he was a staunch Whig) that this present of fifty guineas was a sort of a Tory triumph, which they had no pretense to; and that for his part, he could not bear that so redoubted a champion for liberty, as Cato, should be bought off, to the cause of a contrary party. He therefore, in the seeming zeal of his heart, proposed that the managers themselves should make the same present to Booth, which had been made him from the boxes the day before. This, he said, would recommend the

equality and liberal spirit of our management to the town, and might be a means, to secure Booth more firmly in our interest; it never having been known that the skill of the best actor had received so round a reward, or gratuity, in one day before. Wilks, who wanted nothing but abilities to be as cunning as Dogget, was so charm'd with the proposal that he longed that moment to make Booth the present with his own hands; and though he knew he had no right to do it, without my consent, had no patience to ask it; upon which I turn'd to Dogget, with a cold smile, and told him, that if Booth could be purchased at so cheap a rate, it would be one of the best proofs of his economy we had ever been beholden to. I therefore desired we might have a little patience; that our doing it too hastily might be only making sure of an occasion to throw the fifty guineas away; for if we should be obliged to do better for him, we could never expect that Booth would think himself bound, in honor to refund them. This seem'd so absurd an argument to Wilks, that he began with his usual freedom of speech, to treat it as a pitiful evasion of their intended generosity; but Dogget, who was not so wide of my meaning, clapping his hand upon mine, said, with an air of security, O! don't trouble yourself! there must be two words to that bargain; let me alone to manage that matter. Wilks, upon this dark discourse, grew uneasy, as if there were some secret between us, that he was to be left out of. Therefore, to avoid the shock of his intemperance, I was reduc'd to tell him, that it was my opinion, that Booth would never be made easy, by anything we could do for him, till he had a share in the profits and management; and that, as he did not want friends to assist him, whatever his merit might be before, every one would think, since his acting of Cato, he had now enough to back his pretensions to it. To which Dogget reply'd that nobody could think his merit was slighted by so handsome a present, as fifty guineas; and that for his farther pretensions, whatever the license might avail, our property of house, scenes, and clothes were our own, and not in the power of the crown to dispose of. To conclude, my objections, that the money would be only thrown away, etc., were over-rul'd and the same night Booth had the fifty guineas, which he receiv'd

with a thankfulness that made Wilks and Dogget perfectly easy; insomuch that they seem'd, for some time, to triumph in their conduct, and often endeavor'd to laugh my jealousy out of countenance.

CHAPTER XV

Upon the death of the queen, plays (as they always had been on the like occasions) were silenc'd for six weeks. But this happening on the first of August, in the long vacation of the theater, the observance of that ceremony, which at another juncture would have fallen like wet weather upon their harvest, did them now no particular damage. Their license, however, being of course to be renewed, that vacation gave the managers time to cast about for the better alteration of it. And since they knew the pension of seven hundred a year, which had been levied upon them for Collier, must still be paid to somebody, they imagin'd the merit of a Whig might now have as good a chance of getting into it, as that of a Tory had for being continued in it. Having no obligations, therefore, to Collier, who had made the last penny of them; they apply'd themselves to Sir Richard Steele, who had distinguished himself by his zeal for the house of Hanover, and had been expell'd the House of Commons, for carrying it (as was judg'd at a certain crisis) into a reproach of the government. This we knew was his pretension to that favor, in which he now stood, at court. We knew too, the obligations the stage had to his writings; there being scarce a comedian of merit, in our whole company, whom his *Tatlers* had not made better, by his public recommendation of them. And many days had our house been particularly fill'd, by the influence and credit of his pen. Obligations of this kind from a gentleman, with whom they all had the pleasure of a personal intimacy, the managers thought could not be more justly return'd, than by shewing him some warm instance of their desire to have him at the head of them. We therefore begg'd him to use his interest for the renewal of our license, and that he would do us the honor of getting our names to stand with his in the same commission. This, we told him, would put it still farther into his power of supporting the stage in that reputation to which his lucubrations had already

so much contributed; and that therefore we thought no man had better pretenses to partake of its success.

Though it may be no addition to the favorable part of this gentleman's character, to say with what pleasure he receiv'd this mark of our inclination to him, yet my vanity longs to tell you, that it surpris'd him into an acknowledgment that people, who are shy of obligations, are cautious of confessing. His spirits took such a lively turn upon it, that had we been all his own sons, no unexpected act of filial duty could have more endear'd us to him.

It must be observ'd, then, that as Collier had no share in any part of our property, no difficulties from that quarter could obstruct this proposal. And the usual time of our beginning to act for the winter-season now drawing near, we press'd him not to lose any time in his solicitation of this new license. Accordingly Sir Richard apply'd himself to the Duke of Marlborough, the hero of his heart, who, upon the first mention of it, obtain'd it of his majesty, for Sir Richard, and the former managers, who were actors. Collier we heard no more of.

The court, and town, being crowded very early in the winter-season, upon the critical turn of affairs, so much expected from the Hanover succession, the theater had its particular share of that general blessing, by a more than ordinary concourse of spectators.

About this time the patentee, having very near finish'd his house in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, began to think of forming a new company; and in the meantime, found it necessary to apply for leave to employ them. By the weak defense he had always made against the several attacks upon his interest and former government of the theater, it might be a question, if his house had been ready in the queen's time, whether he would, then, have had the spirit to ask, or interest enough to obtain leave to use it. But in the following reign, as it did not appear he had done anything to forfeit the right of his patent, he prevail'd with Mr. Craggs the younger (afterwards Secretary of State) to lay his case before the king, which he did in so effectual a manner, that (as Mr. Craggs himself told me) his majesty was pleas'd to say upon it, "That he remember'd, when he had been in England before,

in King Charles his time, there had been two theaters in London; and as the patent seem'd to be a lawful grant, he saw no reason why two play-houses might not be continued."

The suspension of the patent being thus taken off, the younger multitude seem'd to call aloud for two play-houses! Many desired another, from the common notion, that *two* would always create emulation in the actors (an opinion, which I have consider'd in a former chapter). Others too, were as eager for them, from the natural ill-will that follows the fortunate, or prosperous, in any undertaking. Of this low malevolence we had, now and then, had remarkable instances. We had been forced to dismiss an audience of a hundred and fifty pounds, from a disturbance spirited up, by obscure people, who never gave any better reason for it, than that it was their fancy to support the idle complaint of one rival actress against another, in their several pretensions to the chief part in a new tragedy. But as this tumult seem'd only to be the wantonness of English liberty, I shall not presume to lay any farther censure upon it.

Now notwithstanding this public desire of reëstablishing two houses, and though I have allow'd the former actors greatly our superiors, and the managers I am speaking of, not to have been without their private errors, yet under all these disadvantages, it is certain the stage, for twenty years before this time, had never been in so flourishing a condition; and it was as evident to all sensible spectators, that this prosperity could be only owing to that better order, and closer industry, now daily observ'd; and which had formerly been neglected by our predecessors. But that I may not impose upon the reader a merit which was not generally allow'd us, I ought honestly to let him know, that about this time, the public papers, particularly *Mist's Journal,* took upon them very often to censure our management, with the same freedom and severity, as if we had been so many ministers of state. But so it happen'd, that these unfortunate reformers of the world, these self-appointed censors, hardly ever hit upon what was really wrong in us; but taking up facts upon trust, or hear-say, piled up many a pompous paragraph, that they had ingeniously conceiv'd was sufficient to demolish our administration, or, at least, to make us very uneasy in it; which,

indeed, had so far its effect, that my equally-injur'd brethren, Wilks and Booth, often complain'd to me of these disagreeable aspersions, and propos'd that some public answer might be made to them, which I always oppos'd, by, perhaps, to secure a contempt of what such writers could do to hurt us; and my reason for it was, that I knew but of one way to silence authors of that stamp; which was, to grow insignificant and good for nothing, and then we should hear no more of them.

However (as I have observ'd), we made many blots, which these unskillful gamesters never hit; but the fidelity of an historian cannot be excus'd the omission of any truth which might make for the other side of the question. I shall therefore confess a fact, which, if a happy accident had not intervened, had brought our affairs into a very tottering condition. This too, is that fact, which in a former chapter I promis'd to set forth as a sea-mark of danger, to future managers, in their theatrical course of government.

When the new-built theater in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields was ready to be open'd, seven or eight actors, in one day, deserted from us to the service of the enemy, which oblig'd us to postpone many of our best plays, for want of some inferior parts in them which these deserters had been used to fill; but the indulgence of the royal family, who then frequently honor'd us by their presence, was pleas'd to accept of whatever could be hastily got ready for their entertainment. And tho' this critical good-fortune prevented, in some measure, our audiences falling so low as otherwise they might have done, yet it was not sufficient to keep us in our former prosperity. For that year, our profits amounted not to above a third part of our usual dividends; though in the following year we entirely recover'd them. The chief of these deserters were Keene, Bullock, Pack, Leigh, son of the famous Tony Leigh, and others of less note. 'Tis true they none of them had more than a negative merit, in being only able to do us more harm by their leaving us, without notice, than they could do us good, by remaining with us; for though the best of them could not support a play, the worst of them, by their absence, could maim it; as the loss of the least pin, in a watch, may obstruct its motion. But to come

to the true cause of their desertion: After my having discover'd the (long unknown) occasion that drove Dogget from the stage, before his settled inclination to leave it; it will be less incredible, that these actors, upon the first opportunity to relieve themselves, should all, in one day, have left us from the same cause of uneasiness. For, in a little time after, upon not finding their expectations answer'd in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, some of them, who seem'd to answer for the rest, told me the greatest grievance they had in our company, was the shocking temper of Wilks, who, upon every, almost no occasion, let loose the unlimited language of passion upon them in such a manner as their patience was not longer able to support. This, indeed, was what we could not justify! This was a secret, that might have made a wholesome paragraph in a critical news-paper! But as it was our good-fortune, that it came not to the ears of our enemies, the town was not entertain'd with their public remarks upon his infirmity.

After this new theater had enjoy'd that short run of favor, which is apt to follow novelty, their audiences began to flag; but whatever good opinion we had of our own merit, we had not so good a one of the multitude, as to depend too much upon the delicacy of their taste. We knew too, that this company being so much nearer to the city than we were, would intercept many an honest customer that might not know a good market from a bad one; and that the thinnest of their audiences must be always taking something from the measure of our profits. All these disadvantages, with many others, we were forced to lay before Sir Richard Steele, and farther to remonstrate to him, that as he now stood in Collier's place, his pension of 700*l.* was liable to the same conditions, that Collier had receiv'd it upon; which were, that it should be only payable during our being the only company permitted to act, but in case another should be set up against us, that then this pension was to be liquidated into an equal share with us; and which now we hoped he would be contented with. While we were offering to proceed, Sir Richard stopt us short, by assuring us, that as he came among us by our own invitation, he should always think himself oblig'd to come into any measures, for our ease and service; that to

be a burthen to our industry, would be more disagreeable to him than it could be to us; and as he had always taken a delight in his endeavors for our prosperity, he should be still ready on our own terms to continue them. Every one who knew Sir Richard Steele in his prosperity (before the effects of his good-nature had brought him to distress), knew that this was his manner of dealing with his friends in business. Another instance of the same nature will immediately fall in my way.

When we propos'd to put this agreement into writing, he desir'd us not to hurry ourselves; for that he was advised, upon the late desertion of our actors, to get our license (which only subsisted during pleasure) enlarg'd into a more ample and durable authority, and which he said he had reason to think would be more easily obtain'd, if were we willing, that a patent for the same purpose might be granted to him only, for his life, and three years after which he would then assign over to us. This was a prospect beyond our hopes, and what we had long wish'd for; for though I cannot say we had every reason to grieve at the personal severities or behavior of any one Lord Chamberlain in my time, yet the several officers under them, who had not the hearts of noblemen, often treated us (to use Shakespeare's expression) with all the insolence of office that narrow minds are apt to be elated with; but a patent, we knew, would free us from so abject a state of dependency. Accordingly, we desired Sir Richard to lose no time; he was immediately promised it. In the interim, we sounded the inclination of the actors remaining with us; who had all sense enough to know, that the credit and reputation we stood in, with the town, could not but be a better security for their salaries than the promise of any other stage, put into bonds, could make good to them. In a few days after, Sir Richard told us that his majesty, being apprised that others had a joint power with him in the license, it was expected we should, under our hands, signify that his petition for a patent was preferr'd by the consent of us all. Such an acknowledgment was immediately sign'd, and the patent thereupon pass'd the great seal; for which I remember the Lord Chancellor Cowper, in compliment to Sir Richard, would receive no fee.

We receiv'd the patent January 19, 1718, and (Sir Richard being oblig'd the next morning to set out for Burrowbridge in Yorkshire, where he was soon after elected member of Parliament) we were forced that very night, to draw up in a hurry (till our counsel might more advisably perfect it), his assignment to us of equal shares, in the patent, with farther conditions of partnership. But here I ought to take shame to myself, and at the same time to give this second instance of the equity and honor of Sir Richard. For this assignment (which I had myself the hasty penning of) was so worded, that it gave Sir Richard as equal a title to our property, as it had given us to his authority in the patent. But Sir Richard, notwithstanding, when he return'd to town, took no advantage of the mistake, and consented, in our second agreement, to pay us twelve hundred pounds, to be equally entitled to our property, which at his death we were obliged to repay (as we afterwards did) to his executors; and which, in case any of us had died before him, the survivors were equally obliged to have paid to the executor of such deceased person, upon the same account. But Sir Richard's moderation with us was rewarded with the reverse of Collier's stiffness. Collier, by insisting on his pension, lost three hundred pounds a year; and Sir Richard, by his accepting a share in lieu of it, was, one year with another, as much a gainer.

The grant of this patent having assured us of a competent term, to be relied on, we were now embolden'd to lay out larger sums in the decorations of our plays. Upon the revival of Dryden's *All for Love*, the habits of that tragedy amounted to an expense of near six hundred pounds; a sum unheard of, for many years before, on the like occasions. But we thought such extraordinary marks of our own acknowledgment were due to the favors which the public were now again pouring in upon us. About this time we were so much in fashion, and followed, that our enemies (who they were, it would not be fair to guess, for we never knew them) made their push of a good round lie upon us, to terrify those auditors, from our support, whom they could not mislead by their private arts or public invectives. A current report, that the walls and roof of our house were liable to fall, had got such ground in

the town, that on a sudden we found our audiences unusually decreased by it. Wilks was immediately for denouncing war and vengeance on the author of this falsehood, and for offering a reward to whoever could discover him. But it was thought more necessary first to disprove the falsehood, and then to pay what compliments might be thought advisable to the author. Accordingly, an order from the king was obtained to have our tenement survey'd by Sir Thomas Hewet, then the proper officer; whose report of its being in a safe and a sound condition, and sign'd by him, was publish'd in every news-paper. This had so immediate an effect, that our spectators, whose apprehensions had lately kept them absent, now made up our losses by returning to us, with a fresh inclination and in greater numbers.

When it was first publicly known that the new theater would be open'd against us, I cannot help going a little back to remember the concern that my brother-managers express'd at what might be the consequences of it. They imagin'd that now, all those who wish'd ill to us, and particularly a great party who had been disobliged by our shutting them out, from behind our scenes, even to the refusal of their money, would now exert themselves, in any partial or extravagant measures that might either hurt us or support our competitors. These, too, were some of those farther reasons which had discouraged them from running the hazard of continuing to Sir Richard Steele the same pension which had been paid to Collier. Upon all which I observed to them, that for my own part, I had not the same apprehensions; but that I foresaw as many good, as bad consequences from two houses; that tho' the novelty might possibly at first abate a little of our profits, yet if we slacken'd not our industry, that loss would be amply balanced by an equal increase of our ease and quiet; that those turbulent spirits which were always molesting us, would now have other employment; that the question'd merit of our acting would now stand in a clearer light, when others were faintly compared to us; that though faults might be found with the best actors that ever were, yet the egregious defects that would appear in others, would now be the effectual means to make our superiority shine, if we had any pretense to it;

and that what some people hoped might ruin us, would in the end reduce them to give up the dispute, and reconcile them to those who could best entertain them.

In every article of this opinion, they afterwards found I had not been deceived; and the truth of it may be so well remember'd by many living spectators, that it would be too frivolous and needless to boast to give it any farther observation.

But, in what I have said, I would not be understood to be an advocate for two play-houses; for we shall soon find that two sets of actors, tolerated in the same place, have constantly ended in the corruption of the theater; of which the auxiliary entertainments, that have so barbarously supply'd the defects of weak action, have, for some years past, been a flagrant instance. It may not, therefore, be here improper to shew how our childish pantomimes first came to take so gross a possession of the stage.

I have upon several occasions already observ'd, that when one company is too hard for another, the lower in reputation has always been forced to exhibit fine new-fangled foppery, to draw the multitude after them. Of these expedients, singing and dancing had formerly been the most effectual; but, at the time I am speaking of, our English music had been so discountenanced, since the taste of Italian operas prevail'd, that it was to no purpose to pretend to it. Dancing therefore was now the only weight in the opposite scale, and as the new theater sometimes found their account in it, it could not be safe for us wholly to neglect it. To give even dancing therefore some improvement, and to make it something more than motion without meaning, the fable of Mars and Venus was form'd into a connected presentation of dances in character, wherein the passions were so happily expressed, and the whole story so intelligibly told, by a mute narration of gesture only, that even thinking spectators allow'd it both a pleasing and a rational entertainment; though at the same time, from our distrust of its reception, we durst not venture to decorate it with any extraordinary expense of scenes, or habits; but upon the success of this attempt, it was rightly concluded, that if a visible expense in both were added to something of the same nature, it could not fail of drawing

the town proportionably after it. From this original hint, then (but every way unequal to it), sprung forth that succession of monstrous medleys, that have so long infested the stage, and which arose upon one another alternately, at both houses, outvying, in expense, like contending bribes on both sides at an election, to secure a majority of the multitude. But so it is, truth may complain, and merit murmur with what justice it may, the few will never be a match for the many, unless authority should think fit to interpose, and put down these poetical drams, these gin-shops of the stage, that intoxicate its auditors and dishonor their understanding, with a levity for which I want a name.

If I am ask'd (after my condemning these fooleries myself) how I came to assent, or continue my share of expense to them, I have no better excuse for my error than confessing it. I did it against my conscience! and had not virtue enough to starve, by opposing a multitude, that would have been too hard for me. Now let me ask an odd question: Had Harry the Fourth of France a better excuse for changing his religion? I was still in my heart, as much as he could be, on the side of truth and sense, but with this difference, that I had their leave to quit them, when they could not support me. For what equivalent could I have found for my falling a martyr to them? How far the hero or the comedian was in the wrong, let the clergy and the critics decide. Necessity will be as good a plea for the one as the other. But let the question go which way it will, Harry IV. has always been allow'd a great man, and what I want of his grandeur, you see by the inference, nature has amply supply'd to me in vanity; a pleasure which neither the pertness of wit, or the gravity of wisdom, will ever persuade me to part with. And why is there not as much honesty in owning, as in concealing it? For though to hide it may be wisdom, to be without it is impossible; and where is the merit of keeping a secret which everybody is let into? To say we have no vanity then, is shewing a great deal of it; as to say we *have* a great deal, cannot be shewing so much: and tho' there may be art, in a man's accusing himself, even then it will be more pardonable than self-commendation. Do not we find that even good actions have their share of it, that it is inseparable

from our being as our nakedness? And though it may be equally decent to cover it, yet the wisest man can no more be without it, than the weakest can believe he was born in his clothes. If, then, what we say of ourselves be true, and not prejudicial to others, to be called vain upon it is no more a reproach, than to be called a brown or a fair man. Vanity is of all complexions; 'tis the growth of every clime and capacity; authors of all ages have had a tincture of it; and yet you read Horace, Montaigne, and Sir William Temple, with pleasure. Nor am I sure, if it were curable by precept, that mankind would be mended by it! Could vanity be eradicated from our nature, I am afraid that the reward of most human virtues would not be found, in this world! And happy is he, who has no greater sin to answer for, in the next!

CHAPTER XVI

Having brought the government of the stage through such various changes and revolutions to this settled state, in which it continued to almost the time of my leaving it; it cannot be suppos'd, that a period of so much quiet and so long a train of success (though happy for those who enjoy'd it), can afford such matter of surprise or amusement as might arise, from times of more distress and disorder. A quiet time, in history, like a calm, in a voyage, leaves us but in an indolent station; to talk of our affairs, when they were no longer ruffled by misfortunes, would be a picture without shade, a flat performance at best. As I might, therefore, throw all that tedious time of our tranquillity into one chasm, in my history, and cut my way short, at once, to my last exit from the stage, I shall, at least, fill it up with such matter only as I have a mind should be known, how few soever may have patience to read it; yet, as I despair not of some readers, who may be most awake, when they think others have most occasion to sleep; who may be more pleas'd to find me languid, than lively, or in the wrong, than in the right; why should I scruple (when it is so easy a matter too) to gratify their particular taste, by venturing upon any error that I like, or the weakness of my judgment misleads me to commit? I think too, I have a very good chance, for my success in this

passive ambition, by shewing myself in a light I have not been seen in.

By your leave then, gentlemen! let the scene open, and at once discover your comedian at the bar! There you will find him a defendant, and pleading his own theatrical cause, in a Court of Chancery.

In all the transactions of life, there cannot be a more painful circumstance, than a dispute at law with a man with whom we have long liv'd in an agreeable amity. But when Sir Richard Steele, to get himself out of difficulties, was oblig'd to throw his affairs into the hands of lawyers and trustees, that consideration, then, could be of no weight; the friend, or the gentleman, had no more to do in the matter! Thus, while Sir Richard no longer acted from himself, it may be no wonder, if a flaw was found in our conduct, for the law to make work with. It must be observ'd then, that about two or three years before this suit was commenc'd, upon Sir Richard's totally absenting himself from all care and management of the stage (which by our articles of partnership, he was equally and jointly oblig'd with us to attend), we were reduc'd to let him know that we could not go on, at that rate; but that if he expected to make the business a *sine-cure,* we had as much reason to expect a consideration for our extraordinary care of it; and that during his absence, we therefore intended to charge ourselves at a salary of £1 13*s.* 4*d.* every acting day (unless he could shew us cause, to the contrary) for our management. To which, in his compos'd manner, he only answer'd: "That to be sure, we knew what was fitter to be done, than he did; that he had always taken a delight in making us easy, and had no reason to doubt of our doing him justice." Now whether, under this easy style of approbation, he conceal'd any dislike of our resolution, I cannot say. But, if I may speak my private opinion, I really believe, from his natural negligence of his affairs, he was glad, at any rate, to be excus'd an attendance, which he was now grown weary of. But whether I am deceiv'd, or right in my opinion, the fact was truly this, that he never once, directly, nor indirectly, complain'd, or objected to our being paid the above-mention'd daily sum, in near three years together; and yet still con-

tinued to absent himself from us and our affairs. But notwithstanding, he had seen, and done all this with his eyes open; his lawyer thought here was still a fair field, for a battle, in Chancery, in which, though his client might be beaten, he was sure his bill must be paid for it. Accordingly, to work with us he went. But not to be so long, as the lawyers were in bringing this cause to an issue, I shall at once let you know that it came to a hearing, before the late Sir Joseph Jekyll, then Master of the Rolls, in the year 1726. Now as the chief point in dispute was, of what kind, or importance, the business of a manager was, or in what it principally consisted, it could not be suppos'd, that the most learned counsel could be so well appris'd of the nature of it, as one, who had himself gone through the care and fatigue of it. I was therefore encourag'd by our counsel, to speak to that particular head myself; which I confess I was glad he suffer'd me to undertake; but when I tell you, that two of the learned counsel against us, came, afterwards, to be successively Lord Chancellors, it sets my presumption in a light that still I tremble to shew it in. But however, not to assume more merit from its success, than was really its due. I ought fairly to let you know, that I was not so hardy as to deliver my pleading without notes in my hand of the heads I intended to enlarge upon; for though I thought I could conquer my fear, I could not be so sure of my memory. But when it came to the critical moment, the dread and apprehension of what I had undertaken, so disconcerted my courage, that though I had been us'd to talk to above fifty thousand different people every winter, for upwards of thirty years together; an involuntary, and unaffected proof of my confusion, fell from my eyes; and, as I found myself quite out of my element, I seem'd rather gasping for life, than in a condition to cope with the eminent orators against me. But however, I soon found, from the favorable attention of my hearers, that my diffidence had done me no disservice; and as the truth, I was to speak to, needed no ornament of words, I delivered it, in a plain manner.

How far our affairs, being set in this particular light, might assist our cause, may be of no great importance to guess; but the issue of it was this: That Sir Richard not having made

any objection, to what we had charged for management, for three years together; and as our proceedings had been all transacted, in open day, without any clandestine intention of fraud; we were allow'd the sums, in dispute, above-mention'd; and Sir Richard not being advised to appeal to the Lord Chancellor, both parties paid their own costs, and thought it their mutual interest to let this be the last of their lawsuits.

A play presented at court, or acted on a public stage, seems to their different auditors, a different entertainment. Now hear my reason for it. In the common theater, the guests are at home, where the politer forms of good-breeding are not so nicely regarded; every one there falls to, and likes or finds fault, according to his natural taste or appetite. At court, where the prince gives the treat, and honors the table with his own presence, the audience is under the restraint of a circle where laughter, or applause, rais'd higher than a whisper, would be star'd at. At a public play they are both let loose, even till the actor is, sometimes, pleas'd with his not being able to be heard, for the clamor of them. But this coldness or decency of attention, at court, I observ'd, had but a melancholy effect upon the impatient vanity of some of our actors, who seem'd inconsolable, when their flashy endeavors to please had pass'd unheeded; their not considering where they were, quite disconcerted them; nor could they recover their spirits, till from the lowest rank of the audience, some gaping John, or Joan, in the fullness of their hearts, roar'd out their approbation; and indeed, such a natural instance of honest simplicity, a prince himself, whose indulgence knows where to make allowances, might reasonably smile at, and perhaps not think it the worst part of his entertainment.

However it must be reasonably own'd, that an audience may be as well too much reserv'd, as too profuse of their applause; for tho' it is possible a Betterton would not have been discourag'd from throwing out an excellence, or elated into an error, by his auditors being too little, or too much pleas'd; yet as actors of his judgment are rarities, those of less judgment may sink into a flatness, in their performance, for want of that applause, which from the generality of

judges, they might, perhaps, have some pretense to; and the auditor, when not seeming to feel what ought to affect him, may rob himself of something more that he might have had, by giving the actor his due, who measures out his power to please, according to the value he sets upon his hearer's taste or capacity. But however, as we were not, here, itinerant adventurers, and had properly but one royal auditor to please; after that honor was attain'd to, the rest of our ambition had little to look after; and that the king was often pleas'd, we were not only assur'd, by those who had the honor to be near him, but could see it, from the frequent satisfaction in his looks at particular scenes and passages. One instance of which I am tempted to relate, because it was at a speech, that might more naturally affect a sovereign prince than any private spectator. In Shakespeare's *Harry the Eighth*, that king commands the cardinal to write circular letters of indemnity, into every county where the payment of certain heavy taxes had been disputed; upon which the cardinal whispers the following directions to his secretary Cromwell:

> A word with you:
> Let there be letters writ to every shire,
> Of the king's grace, and pardon: the griev'd Commons
> Hardly conceive of me. Let it be nois'd,
> That through our intercession this revokement,
> And pardon, comes.—I shall anon advise you
> Farther, in the proceeding—

The solicitude of this spiritual minister, in filching from his master the grace and merit of a good action, and dressing up himself in it, while himself had been author of the evil complain'd of, was so easy a stroke of his temporal conscience, that it seem'd to raise the king into something more than a smile, whenever that play came before him; and I had a more distinct occasion to observe this effect, because my proper stand on the stage, when I spoke the lines, required me to be near the box, where the king usually sat. In a word, this play is so true a dramatic chronicle of an old English court, and where the character of Harry the Eighth is so exactly drawn, even to a humorous likeness, that it may be no wonder

why his majesty's particular taste for it should have commanded it three several times in one winter.

This too calls to my memory an extravagant pleasantry of Sir Richard Steele, who being ask'd by a grave nobleman, after the same play had been presented at Hampton-Court, how the king lik'd it, reply'd: "So terribly well, my lord, that I was afraid I should have lost all my actors! For I was not sure, the king would not keep them to fill the posts at court, that he saw them so fit for in the play."

It may be imagin'd, that giving plays to the people at such a distance from London, could not but be attended with an extraordinary expense; and it was some difficulty, when they were first talk'd of, to bring them under a moderate sum. I shall therefore, in as few words as possible, give a particular of what establishment they were then brought to, that in case the same entertainments should at any time hereafter be call'd to the same place, future courts may judge, how far the precedent may stand good or need an alteration.

Though the stated fee, for a play acted at Whitehall, had been formerly but twenty pounds; yet, as that hinder'd not the company's acting on the same day, at the Public Theater, that sum was almost all clear profits to them; but this circumstance not being practicable, when they were commanded to Hampton-Court, a new and extraordinary charge was unavoidable. The managers, therefore, not to inflame it, desir'd no consideration, for their own labor, farther than the honor of being employ'd in his majesty's commands; and, if the other actors might be allow'd each their day's pay and traveling charges, they should hold themselves ready, to act any play there, at a day's warning; and that the trouble might be less, by being divided, the Lord Chamberlain was pleas'd to let us know, that the household-music, the wax-lights, and a chaise-marine, to carry our moving wardrobe to every different play, should be under the charge of the proper officers. Notwithstanding these assistances, the expense of every play amounted to fifty pounds; which amount, when all was over, was not only allow'd us, but his majesty was graciously pleas'd to give the managers two hundred pounds more, for their particular performance and trouble in only seven times acting. Which last sum, tho'

it might not be too much for a sovereign prince to give, it was certainly more than our utmost merit ought to have hop'd for; and I confess, when I receiv'd the order for the money, from his grace the Duke of Newcastle, then Lord Chamberlain, I was so surpris'd, that I imagin'd his grace's favor, or recommendation of our readiness or diligence, must have contributed to so high a consideration of it, and was offering my acknowledgments, as I thought them due; but was soon stopt short, by his grace's declaration that we had no obligations for it but to the king himself, who had given it from no other motive than his own bounty. Now whether we may suppose that Cardinal Wolsey (as you see Shakespeare has drawn him) would silently have taken such low acknowledgments to himself, perhaps may be as little worth consideration as my mentioning this circumstance has been necessary; but if it is due to the honor and integrity of the (then) Lord Chamberlain, I cannot think it wholly impertinent.

Since that time, there has been but one play given at Hampton-Court, which was for the entertainment of the Duke of Lorrain; and for which his present majesty was pleased to order us a hundred pounds.

The reader may, now, plainly see that I am ransacking my memory for such remaining scraps of theatrical history, as may not, perhaps, be worth his notice; but if they are such as tempt me to write them, why may I not hope, that in this wide world, there may be many an idle soul, no wiser than myself, who may be equally tempted to read them?

I have so often had occasion to compare the state of the stage to the state of a nation, that I yet feel a reluctancy to drop the comparison, or speak of the one, without some application to the other. How many reigns, then, do I remember, from that of Charles the Second, thro' all which, there has been, from one half of the people, or the other, a succession of clamor against every different ministry for the time being? And yet, let the cause of this clamor have been never so well grounded, it is impossible but that some of those ministers must have been wiser and honester men than others. If this be true, as true I believe it is, why may I not then say, as some fool in a French play does, upon a like

occasion—*Justement, comme chez nous!* 'Twas exactly the same with our management! let us have done never so well, we could not please everybody. All I can say, in our defense, is, that though many good judges might possibly conceive how the state of the stage might have been mended, yet the best of them never pretended to remember the time when it was better! or could shew us the way to make the imaginary amendments practicable.

For though I have often allow'd that our best merit, as actors, was never equal to that of our predecessors, yet I will venture to say that in all its branches, the stage had never been under so just, so prosperous, and so settled a regulation, for forty years before, as it was at the time I am speaking of. The most plausible objection to our administration seemed to be that we took no care to breed up young actors, to succeed us; and this was imputed as the greater fault, because it was taken for granted that it was a matter as easy as planting so many cabbages. Now might not a court as well be reproach'd for not breeding up a succession of complete ministers? And yet it is evident, that if providence, or nature, doesn't supply us with both the state and the stage will be but poorly supported. If a man of an ample fortune, should take it into his head to give a younger son an extraordinary allowance, in order to breed him a great poet, what might we suppose would be the odds that his trouble and money would be all thrown away? Not more than it would be against the master of a theater, who should say, this or that young man, I will take care, shall be a most excellent actor!

Let it be our excuse, for that mistaken charge against us, that since there was no garden, or market, where accomplished actors grew, or were to be sold, we could only pick them up, as we do pebbles of value, by chance; we may polish a thousand, before we can find one fit to make a figure in the lid of a snuff-box. And how few soever we were able to produce, it is no proof that we were not always in search of them. Yet, at worst, it was allow'd that our deficiency of men actors, was not so visible as our scarcity of tolerable women. But when it is consider'd that the life of youth and beauty is too short for the bringing an actress to her per-

fection; were I to mention too, the many frail fair ones, I remember, who, before they could arrive to their theatrical maturity, were feloniously stolen from the tree, it would rather be thought our misfortune, than our fault, that we were no better provided.

Even the laws of a nunnery, we find, are thought no sufficient security against temptations, without iron gates and high walls to enforce them, which the architecture of a theater will not so properly admit of; and yet, methinks, beauty that has not those artificial fortresses about it, that has no defense but its natural virtue (which upon the stage has more than once been met with), makes a much more meritorious figure, in life, than that immur'd virtue, which could never be try'd. But alas! as the poor stage is but the show-glass to a toy-shop, we must not wonder, if now and then, some of the baubles should find a purchaser.

However, as to say more or less than truth are equally unfaithful in an historian, I cannot but own, that in the government of the theater, I have known many instances where the merit of promising actors has not always been brought forward, with the regard or favor it had a claim to; and if I put my reader in mind, that in the early part of this work I have shewn thro' what continued difficulties, and discouragements, I myself made my way up the hill of preferment, he may justly call it too strong a glare of my vanity. I am afraid he is in the right; but I pretend not to be one of those chaste authors, that know how to write without it. When truth is to be told, it may be as much chance, as choice, if it happens to turn out in my favor. But it is now time to drop the curtain.

During our four last years, there happen'd so very little unlike what has been said before, that I shall conclude with barely mentioning those unavoidable accidents that drew on our dissolution. The first, that for some years had led the way to greater, was the continued ill state of health that render'd Booth incapable of appearing on the stage. The next was the death of Mrs. Oldfield, which happen'd on the 23rd of October, 1730. About the same time too, Mrs. Porter, then in her highest reputation for tragedy, was lost to us, by the misfortune of a dislocated limb, from the overturning of

a chaise. And our last stroke was the death of Wilks, in September, in the year following, 1731.

Notwithstanding such irreparable losses, whether, when these favorite actors were no more to be had, their successors might not be better borne with, than they could possibly have hop'd, while the former were in being; or that the generality of spectators, from their want of taste, were easier to be pleas'd, than the few who knew better; or that at worst, our actors were still preferable to any other company, of the several, then subsisting; or to whatever cause it might be imputed, our audiences were far less abated than our apprehensions had suggested. So that, tho' it began to grow late in life with me; having still health and strength enough, to have been as useful on the stage as ever, I was under no visible necessity of quitting it. But so it happen'd, that our surviving fraternity having got some chimerical, and as I thought, unjust notions into their heads, which though I knew they were without much difficulty to be surmounted; I chose not, at my time of day, to enter into new contentions; and, as I found an inclination in some of them, to purchase the whole power of the patent into their own hands; I did my best, while I stay'd with them, to make it worth their while to come up to my price; and then patiently sold out my share, to the first bidder, wishing the crew, I had left in the vessel, a good voyage.

What commotions the stage fell into the year following, or from what provocations the greatest part of the actors revolted, and set up for themselves, in the little house in the Hay-Market, lies not within the promise of my title-page to relate. Or as it might set some persons living, in a light they possibly might not choose to be seen in, I will rather be thankful, for the involuntary favor they have done me, than trouble the public with private complaints of fancied or real injuries.

END OF CIBBER'S "APOLOGY"

DUC DE SAINT-SIMON

THE HAUGHTY RECORDER OF THE COURTIERS OF FRENCH KINGS AND NOBLES

1675-1755

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

DUKE DE SAINT SIMON

DUC DE SAINT-SIMON

THE HAUGHTY RECORDER OF THE WEAKNESS OF FRENCH KINGS AND NOBLES

1675-1755

(INTRODUCTORY NOTE)

No collection of the great autobiographies of the world would be complete without some mention of Saint-Simon, the most renowned of French portrayers of court life. There is, however, very little of Saint-Simon's work which is strictly autobiographical. After the first brief pictures of his youth, which are given here, he launches forth into a thousand anecdotes of court life, seldom mentioning himself. His entire memoirs fill many volumes; they extend over some fifty years of the court life of France.

Saint-Simon was one of the great lords of the brilliant court of Louis XIV's later days. He was so proud of his high rank and ancient race that he scorned every one of lesser birth, and was the most submissive of courtiers to the feeble, senile king. Yet Saint-Simon's very pride prevents him from stooping to the tricks and falsehoods of most courtiers. He stands stiffly by the truth. His memoirs thus acquire a reliability rarely found in such court narratives. Whatever the haughty duke records is what he actually believes has happened.

At the death of Louis XIV and the succession of his infant great-grandson, so much power passed into the hands of the great French lords that Saint-Simon felt that the grand triumph of his order had arrived. But the intrigues of subtler and less stiff-necked leaders soon crowded him out of authority, and he continued to his death to be merely the observant chronicler of other men.

The memoirs of Saint-Simon were written in secret. Scarcely any whisper of them reached his contemporaries, and at his death the vague fear of what they might contain caused their seizure by the government. Thus his work was imprisoned in the Bastille, as formally as a human prisoner might have been, and only an occasional court favorite was permitted to peek at its disgraced pages. Indeed the dangerously gossiping prisoner was not wholly freed until long after the French Revolution. The first complete edition was published in 1829, when it had indeed as

profound an influence as royalty could have feared. The frank picture of kingly littlenesses and courtiers' follies did much to strengthen the republican sentiment in France.

MEMOIRS OF THE DUC DE SAINT-SIMON

I WAS born on the night of the 15th of January, 1675, of Claude Duc de Saint-Simon, Peer of France, and of his second wife Charlotte de l'Aubepine. I was the only child of that marriage. By his first wife, Diana de Budos, my father had had only a daughter. He married her to the Duc de Brissac, Peer of France, only brother of the Duchess de Villeroy. She died in 1684, without children,—having been long before separated from a husband who was unworthy of her—leaving me heir of all her property.

I bore the name of the Vidame de Chartres; and was educated with great care and attention. My mother, who was remarkable for virtue, perseverance, and sense, busied herself continually in forming my mind and body. She feared for me the usual fate of young men, who believe their fortunes made, and who find themselves their own masters early in life. It was not likely that my father, born in 1606, would live long enough to ward off from me this danger; and my mother repeatedly impressed on me how necessary it was for a young man, the son of the favorite of a King long dead,—with no new friends at Court,—to acquire some personal value of his own. She succeeded in stimulating my courage; and in exciting in me the desire to make the acquisitions she laid stress on; but my aptitude for study and the sciences did not come up to my desire to succeed in them. However, I had an innate inclination for reading, especially works of history; and thus was inspired with ambition to emulate the examples presented to my imagination,—to do something and become somebody, which partly made amends for my coldness for letters. In fact, I have always thought that if I had been allowed to read history more constantly, instead of losing my time in studies for which I had no aptness, I might have made some figure in the world.

What I read of my own accord, of history, and, above all, of the personal memoirs of the times since Francis I.,

bred in me the desire to write down what I might myself see. The hope of advancement, and of becoming familiar with the affairs of my time, stirred me. The annoyances I might thus bring upon myself did not fail to present themselves to my mind; but the firm resolution I made to keep my writings secret from everybody, appeared to me to remedy all evils. I commenced my "Memoirs" then in July, 1694, being at that time colonel of a cavalry regiment bearing my name, in the camp of Guinsheim, upon the old Rhine, in the army commanded by the Maréchal Duc de Lorges.

In 1691 I was studying my philosophy and beginning to learn to ride at an academy at Rochefort,—getting mightily tired of masters and books, and anxious to join the army. The siege of Mons, formed by the King in person, at the commencement of the spring, had drawn away all the young men of my age to commence their first campaign; and, what piqued me most, the Duc de Chartres was there, too. I had been, as it were, educated with him. I was younger than he by eight months; and if the expression be allowed in speaking of young people, so unequal in position, friendship had united us. I made up my mind, therefore, to escape from my leading strings; but pass lightly over the artifices I used in order to attain success. I addressed myself to my mother. I soon saw that she trifled with me. I had recourse to my father, whom I made believe that the King, having led a great siege this year, would rest the next. I said nothing of this to my mother, who did not discover my plot until it was just upon the point of execution.

The King had determined rigidly to adhere to a rule he had laid down—namely, that none who entered the service, except his illegitimate children, and the princes of the blood royal, should be exempt from serving for a year in one of his two companies of musketeers; and passing afterward through the ordeal of being private or subaltern in one of the regiments of cavalry or infantry,—before receiving permission to purchase a regiment. My father took me, therefore, to Versailles, where he had not been for many years, and begged of the King admission for me into the musketeers. It was on the day of St. Simon St. Jude, at half past twelve, and just as his Majesty came out of the Council.

The King did my father the honor of embracing him three times, and then turned toward me. Finding that I was little and of delicate appearance, he said I was still very young; to which my father replied, that I should be able in consequence to serve longer. Thereupon the King demanded in which of the two companies he wished to put me; and my father named that commanded by Maupertuis, who was one of his friends. The King relied much upon the information given him by the captains of the two companies of musketeers, as to the young men who served in them. I have reason for believing, that I owe to Maupertuis the first good opinion that his Majesty had of me.

Three months after entering the musketeers, that is to say, in the March of the following year, the King held a review of his guards, and of the gendarmerie, at Compiègne, and I mounted guard once at the palace. During this little journey there was talk of a much more important one. My joy was extreme; but my father, who had not counted upon this, repented of having believed me, when I told him that the King would no doubt rest at Paris this year. My mother, after a little vexation and pouting at finding me enrolled by my father against her will, did not fail to bring him to reason, and to make him provide me with an equipment of thirty-five horses or mules, and means to live honorably.

A grievous annoyance happened in our house about three weeks before my departure. A steward of my father named Tessé, who had been with him many years, disappeared all at once with fifty thousand francs due to various tradesfolk. He had written out false receipts from these people, and put them in his accounts. He was a little man, gentle, affable, and clever; who had shown some probity, and who had many friends.

The King set out on the 10th of May, 1692, with the ladies; and I performed the journey on horseback with the soldiers and all the attendants, like the other musketeers, and continued to do so through the whole campaign. I was accompanied by two gentlemen; the one had been my tutor, the other was my mother's squire. The King's army was formed at the camp of Gevries; that of M. de Luxembourg almost joined it. The ladies were at Mons, two leagues distant.

The King made them come into his camp, where he entertained them; and then showed them, perhaps, the most superb review which had ever been seen. The two armies were ranged in two lines, the right of M. de Luxembourg's touching the left of the King's,—the whole extending over three leagues of ground.

After stopping ten days at Gevries, the two armies separated and marched. Two days afterward the siege of Namur was declared. The King arrived there in five days. Monseigneur (son of the King); Monsieur (Duc d'Orleans, brother of the King); M. le Prince (de Condé); and Maréchal d'Humiéres; all four, the one under the other, commanded in the King's army under the King himself. The Duc de Luxembourg, sole general of his own army, covered the siege operations, and observed the enemy. The ladies went away to Dinant. On the third day of the march M. le Prince went forward to invest the place.

The celebrated Vauban, the life and soul of all the sieges the King made, was of opinion that the town should be attacked separately from the castle; and his advice was acted upon. The Baron de Bressé, however, who had fortified the place, was for attacking town and castle together. He was a humble down-looking man, whose physiognomy promised nothing, but who soon acquired the confidence of the King, and the esteem of the army.

The Prince de Condé, Maréchal d'Humiéres, and the Marquis de Boufflers each led an attack. There was nothing worthy of note during the ten days the siege lasted. On the eleventh day, after the trenches had been opened, a parley was beaten and a capitulation made almost as the besieged desired it. They withdrew to the castle; and it was agreed that it should not be attacked from the town side, and that the town was not to be battered by it. During the siege the King was almost always in his tent; and the weather remained constantly warm and serene. We lost scarcely anybody of consequence. The Comte de Toulouse received a slight wound in the arm while quite close to the King, who from a prominent place was witnessing the attack of a half-moon, which was carried in broad daylight by a detachment of the oldest of the two companies of musketeers.

The siege of the castle next commenced. The position of the camp was changed. The King's tents and those of all the Court were pitched in a beautiful meadow about five hundred paces from the monastery of Marlaigne. The fine weather changed to rain, which fell with an abundance and perseverance never before known by any one in the army. This circumstance increased the reputation of Saint Médard, whose *fête* falls on the 8th of June. It rained in torrents that day, and it is said that when such is the case it will rain for forty days afterward. By chance it happened so this year. The soldiers in despair at this deluge uttered many imprecations against the Saint; and looked for images of him, burning and breaking as many as they could find. The rains sadly interfered with the progress of the siege. The tents of the King could only be communicated with by paths laid with fascines which required to be renewed every day, as they sank down into the soil. The camps and quarters were no longer accessible; the trenches were full of mud and water, and it took often three days to remove cannon from one battery to another. The wagons became useless too, so that the transport of bombs, shot, and so forth, could not be performed except upon the backs of mules and of horses taken from the equipages of the Court and the army. The state of the roads deprived the Duc de Luxembourg of the use of wagons and other vehicles. His army was perishing for want of grain. To remedy this inconvenience the King ordered all his household troops to mount every day on horseback by detachments, and to take sacks of grain upon their cruppers to a village where they were to be received and counted by the officers of the Duc de Luxembourg. Although the household of the King had scarcely any repose during this siege, what with carrying fascines, furnishing guards, and other daily services, this increase of duty was given to it because the cavalry served continually also, and was reduced almost entirely to leaves of trees for provender.

The household of the King, accustomed to all sorts of distinctions, complained bitterly of this task. But the King turned a deaf ear to them, and would be obeyed. On the first day some of the Gendarmes and of the light horse of the guard arrived early in the morning at the depot of the

sacks, and commenced murmuring and exciting each other by their discourses. They threw down the sacks at last and flatly refused to carry them. I had been asked very politely if I would be of the detachment for the sacks or of some other. I decided for the sacks, because I felt that I might thereby advance myself, the subject having already made much noise. I arrived with the detachment of the musketeers at the moment of the refusal of the others; and I loaded my sack before their eyes. Marin, a brigadier of cavalry and lieutenant of the body guards, who was there to superintend the operation, noticed me, and full of anger at the refusal he had just met with, exclaimed that as I did not think such work beneath me, the rest would do well to imitate my example. Without a word being spoken each took up his sack; and from that time forward no further difficulty occurred in the matter. As soon as the detachment had gone, Marin went straight to the King and told him what had occurred. This was a service which procured for me several obliging discourses from his Majesty, who during the rest of the siege always sought to say something agreeable every time he met me.

The twenty-seventh day after opening the trenches, that is, the first of July, 1692, a parley was sounded by the Prince de Barbançon, governor of the place,—a fortunate circumstance for the besiegers, who were worn out with fatigue, and destitute of means, on account of the wretched weather which still continued, and which had turned the whole country round into a quagmire. Even the horses of the King lived upon leaves, and not a horse of all our numerous cavalry ever thoroughly recovered from the effects of such sorry fare. It is certain that without the presence of the King the siege might never have been successful; but he being there, everybody was stimulated. Yet had the place held out ten days longer, there is no saying what might have happened. Before the end of the siege the King was so much fatigued with his exertions, that a new attack of gout came on, with more pain than ever, and compelled him to keep his bed, where, however, he thought of everything, and laid out his plans as though he had been at Versailles.

During the entire siege, the Prince of Orange (William

III. of England) had unavailingly used all his science to dislodge the Duc de Luxembourg; but he had to do with a man who in matters of war was his superior, and who continued so all his life. Namur, which, by the surrender of the castle, was now entirely in our power, was one of the strongest places in the Low Countries, and had hitherto boasted of having never changed masters. The inhabitants could not restrain their tears of sorrow. Even the monks of Marlaigne were profoundly moved, so much so, that they could not disguise their grief. The King, feeling for the loss of their corn that they had sent for safety into Namur, gave them double the quantity, and abundant alms. He incommoded them as little as possible, and would not permit the passage of cannon across their park, until it was found impossible to transport it by any other road. Notwithstanding these acts of goodness, they could scarcely look upon a Frenchman after the taking of the place; and one actually refused to give a bottle of beer to an usher of the King's antechamber, although offered a bottle of champagne in exchange for it!

A circumstance happened just after the taking of Namur, which might have led to the saddest results, under any other prince than the King. Before he entered the town, a strict examination of every place was made, although by the capitulation all the mines, magazines, etc. had to be shown. At a visit paid to the Jesuits, they pretended to show everything, expressing, however, surprise and something more, that their bare word was not enough. But on examining here and there, where they did not expect search would be made, their cellars were found to be stored with gunpowder, of which they had taken good care to say no word. What they meant to do with it is uncertain. It was carried away, and as they were Jesuits nothing was done.

During the course of this siege, the King suffered a cruel disappointment. James II. of England, then a refugee in France, had advised the King to give battle to the English fleet. Joined to that of Holland it was very superior to the sea forces of France. Tourville, our admiral, so famous for his valor and skill, pointed this circumstance out to the King. But it was all to no effect. He was ordered to attack the enemy. He did so. Many of his ships were burned, and

the victory was won by the English. A courier intrusted with this sad intelligence was dispatched to the King. On his way he was joined by another courier, who pressed him for his news. The first courier knew that if he gave up his news, the other, who was better mounted, would outstrip him, and be the first to carry it to the King. He told his companion, therefore, an idle tale, very different indeed from the truth, for he changed the defeat into a great victory. Having gained this wonderful intelligence, the second courier put spurs to his horse, and hurried away to the King's camp, eager to be the bearer of good tidings. He reached the camp first, and was received with delight. While his Majesty was still in great joy at his happy victory, the other courier arrived with the real details. The Court appeared prostrated. The King was much afflicted. Nevertheless he found means to appear to retain his self-possession, and I saw, for the first time, that Courts are not long in affliction or occupied with sadness. I must mention that the (exiled) King of England looked on at this naval battle from the shore; and was accused of allowing expressions of partiality to escape him in favor of his countrymen, although none had kept their promises to him.

Two days after the defeated garrison had marched out, the King went to Dinant to join the ladies, with whom he returned to Versailles. I had hoped that Monseigneur would finish the campaign, and that I should be with him, and it was not without regret that I returned toward Paris. On the way a little circumstance happened. One of our halting places was Marienburgh, where we camped for the night. I had become united in friendship with Comte de Coetquen, who was in the same company with myself. He was well instructed and full of wit; was exceedingly rich, and even more idle than rich. That evening he had invited several of us to supper in his tent. I went there early, and found him stretched out upon his bed, from which I dislodged him playfully and laid myself down in his place, several of our officers standing by. Coetquen, sporting with me in return, took his gun, which he thought to be unloaded, and pointed it at me. But to our great surprise the weapon went off. Fortunately for me, I was at that moment lying flat upon

the bed. Three balls passed just above my head, and then just above the heads of our two tutors, who were walking outside the tent. Coetquen fainted at thought of the mischief he might have done, and we had all the pains in the world to bring him to himself again: indeed he did not thoroughly recover for several days. I relate this as a lesson which ought to teach us never to play with firearms.

The poor lad,—to finish at once all that concerns him,—did not long survive this incident. He entered the King's regiment, and when just upon the point of joining it in the following spring, came to me and said he had had his fortune told by a woman named Du Perchoir, who practiced her trade secretly at Paris, and that she had predicted he would be soon drowned. I rated him soundly for indulging a curiosity so dangerous and so foolish. A few days after he set out for Amiens. He found another fortune-teller there, a man, who made the same prediction. In marching afterward with the regiment of the King to join the army, he wished to water his horse in the *Escaut,* and was drowned there, in the presence of the whole regiment, without it being possible to give him any aid. I felt extreme regret for his loss, which for his friends and his family was irreparable.

On May 3, 1693, the King announced his intention of placing himself at the head of his army in Flanders, and, having made certain alterations in the rule of precedence of the maréchals of France, soon after began the campaign. I have here, however, to draw attention to my private affairs, for on the above-mentioned day, at 10 o'clock in the morning, I had the misfortune to lose my father. He was eighty-seven years of age, and had been in bad health for some time, with a touch of gout during the last three weeks. On the day in question he had dined as usual with his friends, had retired to bed, and while talking to those around him there, all at once gave three violent sighs. He was dead almost before it was perceived that he was ill; there was no more oil in the lamp.

I learned this sad news after seeing the King to bed; his Majesty was to purge himself on the morrow. The night was given to the just sentiments of nature; but the next day I went early to visit Bontems, and then the Duc de Beauvilliers,

who promised to ask the King, as soon as his curtains were opened, to grant me the offices my father had held. The King very graciously complied with his request, and in the afternoon said many obliging things to me, particularly expressing his regret that my father had not been able to receive the last Sacraments. I was able to say that a very short time before, my father had retired for several days to Saint Lazare, where was his confessor, and added something on the piety of his life. The King exhorted me to behave well, and promised to take care of me. When my father was first taken ill, several persons, among others, D'Aubigné, brother of Madame de Maintenon, had asked for the governorship of Blaye. But the King refused them all, and said very bluntly to D'Aubigné, "Is there not a son?" He had, in fact, always given my father to understand I should succeed him, although generally he did not allow offices to descend from father to son.

After having paid the last duties to my father I betook myself to Mons to join the Royal Roussillon cavalry regiment, in which I was captain. The King, after stopping eight or ten days with the ladies at Quesnoy, sent them to Namur, and put himself at the head of the army of M. de Boufflers, and camped at Gembloux, so that his left was only half a league distant from the right of M. de Luxembourg. The Prince of Orange was encamped at the Abbey of Pure, was unable to receive supplies and could not leave his position without having the two armies of the King to grapple with: he entrenched himself in haste, and bitterly repented having allowed himself to be thus driven into a corner. We knew afterward that he wrote several times to his intimate friend the Prince de Vaudemont,—saying that he was lost, and that nothing short of a miracle could save him.

We were in this position, with an army in every way infinitely superior to that of the Prince of Orange, and with four whole months before us to profit by our strength, when the King declared on the 8th of June that he should return to Versailles, and sent off a large detachment of the army into Germany. The surprise of the Maréchal de Luxembourg was without bounds. He represented the facility with which the Prince of Orange might now be beaten with one army

and pursued by another; and how important it was to draw off detachments of the imperial forces from Germany into Flanders, and how, by sending an army into Flanders instead of Germany, the whole of the Low Countries would be in our power. But the King would not change his plans, although M. de Luxembourg went down on his knees and begged him not to allow such a glorious opportunity to escape. Madame de Maintenon, by her tears when she parted from his Majesty, and by her letters since, had brought about this resolution.

The news had not spread on the morrow, June 9th. I chanced to go alone to the quarters of M. de Luxembourg, and was surprised to find not a soul there; every one had gone to the King's army. Pensively bringing my horse to a stand, I was ruminating on a fact so strange, and debating whether I should return to my tent or push on to the royal camp, when up came M. le Prince de Conti with a single page and a groom leading a horse. "What are you doing there?" cried he, laughing at my surprise. Thereupon he told me he was going to say adieu to the King, and advised me to do likewise. "What do you mean by saying adieu?" answered I. He sent his servants to a little distance, and begged me to do the same, and with shouts of laughter told me about the King's retreat, making tremendous fun of him, despite my youth, for he had confidence in me. I was astonished. We soon after met the whole company coming back; and the great people went aside to talk and sneer. I then proceeded to pay my respects to the King, by whom I was honorably received. Surprise, however, was expressed by all faces, and indignation by some.

The effect of the King's retreat, indeed, was incredible, even among the soldiers and the people. The general officers could not keep silent upon it, and the inferior officers spoke loudly, with a license that could not be restrained. All through the army, in the towns, and even at Court, it was talked about openly. The courtiers, generally so glad to find themselves again at Versailles, now declared that they were ashamed to be there; as for the enemy, they could not contain their surprise and joy. The Prince of Orange said that the retreat was a miracle he could not have hoped for;

that he could scarcely believe in it, but that it had saved his army, and the whole of the Low Countries. In the midst of all this excitement the King arrived with the ladies, on the 25th of June, at Versailles.

We gained some successes, however, this year. Maréchal de Villeroy took Huy in three days, losing only a sub-engineer and some soldiers. On the 29th of July we attacked at dawn the Prince of Orange at Neerwinden, and after twelve hours of hard fighting, under a blazing sun, entirely routed him. I was of the third squadron of the Royal Roussillon, and made five charges. One of the gold ornaments of my coat was torn away, but I received no wound. During the battle our brigadier, Quoadt, was killed before my eyes. The Duc de Feuillade became thus commander of the brigade. We missed him immediately, and for more than half an hour saw nothing of him; he had gone to make his toilet. When he returned he was powdered and decked out in a fine red surtout, embroidered with silver, and all his trappings and those of his horse were magnificent; he acquitted himself with distinction.

Our cavalry stood so well against the fire from the enemy's guns, that the Prince of Orange lost all patience, and turning away exclaimed—"Oh, the insolent nation!" He fought until the last, and retired with the Elector of Hanover only when he saw there was no longer any hope. After the battle my people brought us a leg of mutton and a bottle of wine, which they had wisely saved from the previous evening, and we attacked them in good earnest, as may be believed. The enemy lost about twenty thousand men, including a large number of officers; our loss was not more than half that number. We took all their cannon, eight mortars, many artillery wagons, a quantity of standards, and some pairs of kettle-drums. The victory was complete.

Meanwhile, the army which had been sent to Germany under the command of Monseigneur and of the Maréchal de Lorges, did little or nothing. The Maréchal wished to attack Heilbronn, but Monseigneur was opposed to it; and, to the great regret of the principal generals and of the troops, the attack was not made. Monseigneur returned early to Versailles.

At sea we were more active. The rich merchant fleet of Smyrna was attacked by Tourville; fifty vessels were burned or sunk, and twenty-seven taken, all richly freighted. This campaign cost the English and Dutch dear. It is believed their loss was more than thirty millions of écus.

The season finished with the taking of Charleroy. On the 16th of September the Maréchal de Villeroy, supported by M. de Luxembourg, laid siege to it, and on the 11th of October, after a good defense, the place capitulated. Our loss was very slight. Charleroy taken, our troops went into winter quarters, and I returned to Court, like the rest. The roads and the posting service were in great disorder. Among other adventures I met with, I was driven by a deaf and dumb postillion, who stuck me fast in the mud when near Quesnoy. At Pont Saint-Maxence all the horses were retained by M. de Luxembourg. Fearing I might be left behind, I told the postmaster that I was a governor (which was true) and that I would put him in jail if he did not give me horses. I should have been sadly puzzled how to do it; but he was simple enough to believe me, and gave the horses.

My mother, who had been much disquieted for me during the campaign, desired strongly that I should not make another without being married. Although very young, I had no repugnance to marry, but wished to do so according to my own inclinations. With a large establishment I felt very lonely in a country where credit and consideration do more than all the rest. Without uncle, aunt, cousins-german, or near relatives of any sort, I found myself, I say, extremely solitary.

Among my best friends, as he had been the friend of my father, was the Duc de Beauvilliers. He had always shown me much affection and I felt a great desire to unite myself to his family. My mother approved of my inclination, and gave me an exact account of my estates and possessions. I carried it to Versailles, and sought a private interview with M. de Beauvilliers. At eight o'clock the same evening he received me alone in the cabinet of Madame de Beauvilliers. After making my compliments to him, I told him my wish, showed him the state of my affairs, and said that all I demanded of him was one of his daughters in marriage, and

that whatever contract he thought fit to draw up would be signed by my mother and myself without examination.

The Duc, who had fixed his eyes upon me all this time, replied like a man penetrated with gratitude by the offer I had made. He said that of his eight daughters the eldest was between fourteen and fifteen years old; the second much deformed, and in no way marriageable, the third between twelve and thirteen years of age, and the rest were children; the eldest wished to enter a convent, and had shown herself firm upon that point. He seemed inclined to make a difficulty of his want of fortune; but, reminding him of the proposition I had made, I said that it was not for fortune I had come to him, not even for his daughter, whom I had never seen; that it was he and Madame de Beauvilliers who had charmed me, and whom I wished to marry.

"But," said he, "if my eldest daughter wishes absolutely to enter a convent?"

"Then," replied I, "I ask the third of you." To this he objected, on the ground that if he gave the dowry of the first to the third daughter, and the first afterward changed her mind and wished to marry, he should be thrown into an embarrassment. I replied that I would take the third as though the first were to be married, and that if she were not, the difference between what he destined for her and what he destined for the third should be given to me. The Duc, raising his eyes to heaven, protested that he had never been combated in this manner, and that he was obliged to gather up all his forces in order to prevent himself yielding to me that very instant.

On the next day, at half past three, I had another interview with M. de Beauvilliers. With much tenderness he declined my proposal, resting his refusal upon the inclination his daughter had displayed for the convent,—upon his little wealth, if, the marriage of the third being made, she should change her mind—and upon other reasons. He spoke to me with much regret and friendship, and I to him in the same manner; and we separated, unable any longer to speak to each other. Two days after, however, I had another interview with him by his appointment. I endeavored to overcome the objections that he made, but all in vain. He could

not give me his third daughter with the first unmarried, and he would not force her, he said, to change her wish of retiring from the world. His words, pious and elevated, augmented my respect for him, and my desire for the marriage. In the evening, at the breaking up of the appointment, I could not prevent myself whispering in his ear that I should never live happy with anybody but his daughter, and without waiting for a reply hastened away. I had the next evening, at eight o'clock, an interview with Madame de Beauvilliers. I argued with her with such prodigious ardor that she was surprised, and although she did not give way, she said she should be inconsolable for the loss of me, repeating the same tender and flattering things her husband had said before, and with the same effusion of feeling.

I had yet another interview with M. de Beauvilliers. He showed even more affection for me than before, but I could not succeed in putting aside his scruples. He unbosomed himself afterward to one of our friends, and in his bitterness said he could only console himself by hoping that his children and mine might some day intermarry, and he prayed me to go and pass some days at Paris, in order to allow him to seek a truce to his grief in my absence. We both were in want of it. I have judged it fitting to give these details, for they afford a key to my exceeding intimacy with M. de Beauvilliers, which otherwise, considering the difference in our ages, might appear incomprehensible.

There was nothing left for me but to look out for another marriage. One soon presented itself, but as soon fell to the ground; and I went to La Trappe to console myself for the impossibility of making an alliance with the Duc de Beauvilliers.

La Trappe is a place so celebrated and so well known, and its reformer so famous, that I shall say but little about it. I will, however, mention that this abbey is five leagues from La Ferté-au-Vidame, or Arnault, which is the real distinctive name of this Ferté among so many other Fertés in France, which have preserved the generic name of what they have been, that is to say, forts or fortresses (*firmitas*). My father had been very intimate with M. de La Trappe, and had taken me to him.

Although I was very young then, M. de La Trappe charmed me, and the sanctity of the place enchanted me. Every year I stayed some days there, sometimes a week at a time, and was never tired of admiring this great and distinguished man. He loved me as a son, and I respected him as though he were my father. This intimacy, singular at my age, I kept secret from everybody, and only went to the convent clandestinely.

All this winter my mother was solely occupied in finding a good match for me. Some attempt was made to marry me to Mademoiselle de Royan. It would have been a noble and rich marriage; but I was alone, Mademoiselle de Royan was an orphan, and I wished a father-in-law and a family upon whom I could lean. During the preceding year there had been some talk of the eldest daughter of Maréchal de Lorges for me. The affair had fallen through, almost as soon as suggested, and now, on both sides, there was a desire to recommence negotiations. The probity, integrity, the freedom of Maréchal de Lorges pleased me infinitely, and everything tended to give me an extreme desire for this marriage. Madame de Lorges by her virtue and good sense was all I could wish for as the mother of my future wife. Mademoiselle de Lorges was a blonde, with complexion and figure perfect, a very amiable face, an extremely noble and modest deportment, and with I know not what of majesty derived from her air of virtue, and of natural gentleness. The Maréchal had five other daughters, but I liked this one best without comparison, and hoped to find with her that happiness which she since has given me. As she has become my wife, I will abstain here from saying more about her, unless it be that she has exceeded all that was promised of her, and all that I myself had hoped.

My marriage being agreed upon and arranged, the Maréchal de Lorges spoke of it to the King, who had the goodness to reply to him that he could not do better, and to speak of me very obligingly. The marriage accordingly took place at the Hôtel des Lorges, on the 8th of April, 1695, which I have always regarded, and with good reason, as the happiest day of my life. My mother treated me like the best mother in the world. On the Thursday before Quasimodo the contract was signed; a grand repast followed; at midnight the *curé* of Saint Roch said mass, and married us in the chapel of the

house. On the eve, my mother had sent forty thousand livres' worth of precious stones to Mademoiselle de Lorges, and I six hundred *louis* in a *corbeille* filled with all the knick-knacks that are given on these occasions.

We slept in the grand apartment of the Hôtel des Lorges. On the morrow, after dinner, my wife went to bed, and received a crowd of visitors, who came to pay their respects and to gratify their curiosity. The next evening we went to Versailles, and were received by Madame de Maintenon and the King. On arriving at the supper table, the King said to the new Duchess:—"Madame, will you be pleased to seat yourself?"

His napkin being unfolded, he saw all the duchesses and princesses still standing; and rising in his chair, he said to Madame de Saint-Simon—"Madame, I have already begged you to be seated;" and all immediately seated themselves. On the morrow, Madame de Saint-Simon received all the Court in her bed—in the apartment of the Duchess d'Arpajon, as being more handy, being on the ground floor. Our festivities finished by a supper that I gave to the former friends of my father, whose acquaintance I had always cultivated with great care.

END OF THE AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL PORTION OF THE MEMOIR

HANS MIKKELSEN

PEDER PAARS

ERANDAUS MISTANDE

LEWIS HOLBERG

THE FOUNDER OF MODERN DANISH LITERATURE

1684-1754

(INTRODUCTORY NOTE)

Lewis Holberg, created Baron Holberg by the Danish King in 1747, is universally recognized by the Danes as the founder of modern literature in Denmark. He wrote voluminously, plays, [illegible], [illegible], philosophies, satires in prose and verse. And his writings [illegible] to write and think for themselves, as he had done. [illegible] Holberg travelled much, in an age when travel was very difficult, and he brought home to his countrymen a knowledge of other lands, thus [illegible] their civilization and their [illegible]

LEWIS HOLBERG

He was born in Norway, but in those days Norway was under Danish rule, so that young Holberg went naturally for his education to the Danish capital of Copenhagen, and afterward became a professor at the Copenhagen university.

Not the least among Holberg's many books is his autobiography. He wrote this in Latin and published it in that tongue in 1737, meaning it for the scholars of his day rather than for the most of people. Indeed it has never been so popular in Denmark as some of his other works. Perhaps the frankness of criticism was too offensive. The author was, in short, a quick-tempered and somewhat splenetic individual, noting the evil rather than the good among his fellows, [illegible] and [illegible] by his contemporaries of being a miser, a grandfather to [illegible], and a foe to all joy. These charges he vigorously refuted [illegible] his book.

THE LIFE OF LEWIS HOLBERG

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THE LIFE OF LEWIS HOLBERG

I SHALL not imitate the example of those autobiographers who entertain their readers with a circumstantial account of their pedigree; for, to say the truth, if I were desirous of commencing with a chapter on my ancestors, I should have some difficulty in finding materials for it, since my native town, Bergen in Norway, is, like Noah's ark, the receptacle of all

living creatures. Thither, as to a common country, people of all nations, neighboring and remote, are constantly repairing; and the intermarriages of these settlers with the natives of Bergen necessarily tend to impede the researches of our genealogists. I can do more, I believe, than most of my countrymen, towards establishing the antiquity of my family, for I can show that my mother's grandfather was a native of the place which gave me birth. His name was Lewis Munthe; he was bishop of Bergen, of noble rank, and the father of so numerous a progeny, that he may justly be classed among the patriarchs of Norway. As to my paternal relations, I candidly confess that I know nothing about them. My father, of blessed memory, rose from the ranks to the command of a regiment; and it may be inferred from this circumstance, that he was rather indebted to his personal merit than to his ancestry for his promotion. It is enough for me, that he always maintained the character of a just, brave, and pious man, and conducted himself through life with such prudence and propriety, as to deserve the esteem and affection of all who knew him, and especially of that distinguished hero Frederick Güldenlöve, under whom he served with some reputation in Norway. In the towns of Norway few men can boast of the antiquity of their families; in the country aboriginal Norwegians are to be found. There, many of the laborers are said to be legitimately descended from the lords of the soil; but, as they are not addicted to genealogical studies, they are happily, for the most part, ignorant of their illustrious origin. If it were otherwise, they might be reduced to the condition of the ruined and starving nobleman who exclaimed, "O! that I were a poor man, for I could then relieve my necessities by some plebeian occupation."

I was still at nurse when my father died, having left us a considerable property, which was unfortunately almost entirely destroyed by a fire which broke out in the middle of the night in a house adjoining my mother's. By this accident we should have been reduced to a state of the most abject poverty, had it not been for a few farmhouses which my father had purchased a short time before his death. The rent of these houses was scarcely sufficient to support a numerous family; but my mother managed it with such admirable economy, that

after a period of nearly ten years she left the whole of this property unencumbered to her six surviving children.

On the death of my mother I was entered, at the age of ten years, among the stipendiary pupils of the Upland regiment; for it was at that time the practice in Norway to give pay to the children of officers, and to initiate them almost from the cradle in military tactics. In the Norwegian army petty officers who have ten men under their command are called corporals. I was made a corporal at starting, under the implied condition that I should receive instruction in the art military. This is a part of my history, however, which it may not be very prudent to divulge; since to be transformed from a petty officer into a professor of philosophy, and to exchange my rank of corporal for spiritual preferment, is a sort of Ovidian metamorphosis which might expose me to the risk of being sent back from my professorial chair to the camp, if the authorities were disposed to question my qualifications.

I was then sent by my guardian to Upland, to be instructed in military tactics; but as I had discovered a passion for literature from my earliest years, and had already made some trifling literary attempts, my relation Otto Munthe, to whose care I was entrusted, encouraged this propensity, and placed me under the tuition of the individual who taught his own children. This man delighted in birch, and never suffered a day to pass without inflicting corporal chastisement on his pupils. In other respects he was wholly unqualified for his situation; and I am glad to hear, especially for the sake of the Latin language, that he has since retired from it, for his inroads on the purity of the Roman idiom were as merciless as his daily attacks on the flesh of his scholars. I remember, among other instances of this man's elegant Latinity, that he used to place the particle *non* at the end of a sentence, so that instead of the phrase *Non possum tibi satisfacere,* he would say *Possum tibi satisfacere non;* a piece of stupidity for which alone he deserved more than all the punishment he ever inflicted on his pupils. If I had not fallen into the hands of this tyrant, I might have boasted, that during the whole period of my pupilage I had never once been flogged, for I was a great favorite with all my other masters, public

as well as private. I remember on one occasion, when the usher of the second class in the public school at Bergen gave me a slight stroke on the hand with a cane, I was so indignant at receiving this punishment, that I turned fiercely upon him, and called him an old goat, a name by which the boys distinguished him from the other ushers, on account of the length of his beard. The good man bore this affront with dignified indifference, simply contenting himself with calling me a little blockhead, though, if any other boy had ventured to say as much, his resentment would certainly not have been confined within these moderate limits. Nothing worthy of mention occurred during the time I bore the rank of corporal, except that I never saw a farthing of the pay to which I was entitled, and I know not who received it in my name. My host, who had reckoned upon this pay as a reimbursement for the expenses of my board and education, finding that it went into some other channel, sent me home.

Shortly after my return, while I was staying at the house of a relation, named Krog, who was a captain in the army, a ridiculous circumstance occurred, which made a lasting impression on my memory. The captain had three sons, the youngest of whom slept in the same bed with the tutor, a sort of living sponge named Erasmus, who could imbibe a larger quantity of liquor than any other man in that country. It happened one night that Erasmus staggered into his chamber under the influence of his accustomed potations, and threw himself upon the bed without having previously divested himself of his clothes or boots. The boy, not approving this arrangement, got out of bed, crept quietly into the apartment where I slept with his brothers, and composed himself to rest at the foot of our bed. We had been in bed about an hour when I was awakened by a kick which I received from our new inmate. I immediately roused my companions, telling them that there was a ghost in the room; and our terror soon increased to such a degree that we imagined ourselves to be assailed by whole legions of spirits. The supposed devil at the foot of the bed, awakened by our murmurs, was seized with a similar panic, and, as he was alone, concluded that he was especially exposed to the assaults of the demons, and would therefore be the first morsel they would choose to de-

vour. For some time he remained motionless and half dead with fear, expecting the approach of the enemy, until at length he ventured to quit his position, and approach our part of the bed. Whenever he made this attempt, however, our terrors increased, and we fancied that the devil and all his imps were let loose before us. In this manner we passed the whole night in a state of dreadful alarm; and I doubt not that if all the prayers with which we besieged the Deity on this occasion were collected, they would in point of bulk form a respectable liturgy. My companions, who were but moderately skilled in divinity, and knew very little by heart beyond the Lord's Prayer, had recourse to the graces commonly said before and after dinner. Among others, the formula—"God bless the food placed before us, and also that which is to follow," was repeated a hundred times; and the consciousness of the small stock of piety they possessed for the occasion increased the terrors of the supplicants. We were afraid of calling out for assistance, not merely from our apprehension of the devil, but on account of Erasmus, who would not have failed to inflict another kind of torture upon us the next day, had we interrupted his repose. Towards daybreak, however, the spirit at the foot of the bed could restrain himself no longer, and jumping out, he exclaimed with the voice of a Stentor, "Help! help! master, there are ghosts and devils in our bedroom." Erasmus, whose blood was still in a state of feverish excitement from the effects of the last night's debauch, no sooner heard this exclamation than he became as cold as an icicle. He crossed himself devoutly, and lay trembling with fear until daylight revealed the true cause of all our alarms and misapprehensions. This incident led me to deny the existence of spirits, and to refer all the stories which are commonly told of them to mere illusions of the mind; and it is to such trifling circumstances as these, perhaps, that the transition from superstition to infidelity may be traced in the minds of a large portion of mankind. Men seldom observe much moderation in their opinions respecting the immaterial world; they either believe or reject everything; they either suffer their imagination to gain an absurd ascendancy over their reason, or, having once detected the errors in which their imagination has involved them, they are apt to run into

the other extreme, and to doubt even those truths which are attested by the most unexceptionable testimony.

But, to return from this digression: I was placed, shortly after my arrival at Bergen, under the guardianship of my uncle Peter Lemmius, in whose house I remained until the great fire occurred in that town in the year 1702, when I was sent from the grammar-school of Bergen to the university of Copenhagen. This Peter Lemmius was an exceedingly facetious person; and the following incident will show that he was also a good-natured man. I had revenged myself for some injury I had received from one of his wife's relations, by writing a satirical poem, and this production had given so much offense to my aunt, that she insisted on my being punished for it. Peter Lemmius so far obeyed his wife's instructions, as to summon me before him with a severe air and threatening gestures; but, after a long prologue, when he came to the examination of the poem in question, all he did was to find fault with my prosody, and to object to the metrical accuracy of my iambics. I defended myself; a grammatical dispute arose, which after some time was amicably adjusted, my uncle desiring me, when I made another copy of verses, to pay more attention to my prosody.

I was sent to the university before the expiration of the time required to be spent in scholastic studies, partly because the school at Bergen was reduced to ashes, and partly because the master of the school, the celebrated Severinus Lintrupius, considered me not much inferior, in point of scholarship, to those who were of an age to be dismissed. My pecuniary circumstances did not permit me to stay long at Copenhagen; accordingly, when I had passed my examination, I returned to Norway, and shortly after became tutor to the children of a professor of theology in the country. The professor stipulated that, whenever he should be prevented by illness, or any other cause, from discharging his theological functions, I should take his place, and expound the doctrines of the Christian religion to the rustics. I passed a year in flogging my pupils, and converting Norwegian boors; but I had better success as a preacher than as a pedagogue, for I was dismissed without much ceremony for too rigorous an exercise of the birch on the professor's youngest son, who was an impenetra-

ble dunce, and his mother's darling; but I received, on my departure, the most flattering testimonies of approbation from the rustics, who did not hesitate to compare me to the late preacher, Peter, whose eloquence was in that country considered equal to that of Chrysostom. I did not regret my dismissal, for the task of teaching is especially irksome to a man of irritable temper, and my irritability was at that time increased by the complaint commonly called the night-mare, which visited me every night, and conveyed to me the sensation of being pressed down to the bed by some immense external body. The ancients supposed that Fauns or Satyrs were the beings who had a taste for riding upon us in our sleep; modern credulity has ascribed the propensity to matrons or virgins. I despaired of getting rid of this complaint, until I left the place in which I seemed to be selected by the presiding devil of the professor's establishment as the special object of her nocturnal visitations. I had neglected none of the usual remedies; I had placed my shoes before the bed with the heels uppermost, I had concealed a bit of iron under my pillow, and I had sung the mystical verses recommended in this peculiar case by Peter Paarsius; but all was of no avail. My tormentor seemed to be a provincial devil, who delighted in taking a nightly ride on the schoolmaster of the place; and as I felt indignant that a youth born of respectable parents should be used for so degrading a purpose, especially as I had through life spent my nights in a modest and solitary manner, and had never done anything to merit such treatment from the fair sex, I gladly left the professor's house, in the hope that this nightly nuisance would cease with a change of situation.

I proceeded again to Copenhagen, in order to pass a final examination; and during my residence in the university I received some instruction in the French and Italian languages, not neglecting, however, my sacred studies, in which I made such proficiency, that at the end of the winter I obtained a high theological degree, and returned home with a good character, but an empty purse. Under these circumstances I was once more compelled to submit to the yoke which I had lately shaken off; and as Nicholas Schmidt, the vice-bishop of Bergen, wanted at that time a tutor for his children, I ac-

cepted the office, and discharged it for some months, when I began to feel like a man condemned to the mines. This Nicholas Schmidt had in his younger days traveled over most of the countries of Europe. He had kept a journal of his travels, which I was in the habit of reading in my leisure hours; and the perusal of this journal excited in me an ardent desire to visit foreign countries. My poverty appeared to present an insurmountable obstacle to the gratification of this wish; but difficulties only increased my desire of accomplishing my object, and I accordingly requested and obtained leave to retire from my situation, much against the inclination of my friends and of the vice-bishop, who perceived that his children were making rapid progress under my tuition.

Having once more become my own master, I proceeded to turn everything I could collect into money. All my goods, chattels, and hereditaments, all my convertible property, in short, of what description soever, was sold, ceded, and alienated without remorse; like the alchemists, I endeavored to make gold from everything. After all these efforts, when I came to reckon my treasure, I found that my whole fortune amounted only to sixty imperials. Firm to my purpose, however, I embarked for Holland, relying not so much on my stock of money, which, to say the truth, was slender, as on my literary accomplishments, on which I set a far higher value; and I felt confident that, whenever my capital was exhausted, I should be able to support myself by teaching the French and Italian languages. Besides, whatever I had once resolved to execute, was with me fixed and irrevocable as fate.

When we came in sight of the isle of Flie, we were met by a piratical cruiser, which, however, did us no injury, but, on the contrary, gave rise to an incident which afforded us considerable amusement. The cook, fearing lest his money should fall into the hands of a pirate, wrapped up his treasure, consisting of a few pieces of small coin, in a dirty towel, and threw it into a pot of boiled peas, where the rust of the copper soon entered into intimate combination with the particles of pulse and butter. When the pirate had left us, and all fears had subsided, the cook took out his money purified from the rust it had contracted during some months, and placed the miscellaneous mixture to which the rust was imparted before

us at dinner. After every one had partaken of this dirty repast, the cook mentioned the stratagem he had employed to deceive the pirate, as if he had performed a meritorious exploit. Upon this a storm of indignation, mingled with laughter, disgust, and nausea, arose; a council was held, and the cook was at first sentenced to summary punishment; but he was subsequently pardoned, in consideration of the novelty and ingenuity of the expedient to which he had had recourse.

We proceeded gayly on our voyage until we arrived at our destination. I spent a pleasant fortnight at Amsterdam, taking care to see everything in that city that was most worthy of the curiosity of a stranger; when, upon seriously calculating the extent of my resources, I discovered that my stock of money would be soon exhausted; and as the means of supplying it were not very obvious, I began to be alarmed at my situation, and to repent of the enterprise in which I had embarked. When I reflected on the character of the Hollanders, I despaired of deriving any assistance from my literary acquisitions, especially at Amsterdam, where trade occupies every man's thoughts, and philosophy is at a discount, and where even Grotiuses and Salmasiuses must give place to shipowners and merchants. Wherever I was introduced in consequence of the recommendatory letters I brought with me from Bergen, I received none of those attentions to which I considered myself entitled as a candidate for an honorable profession; on the contrary, I was compelled to listen in silence to the moral precepts and admonitions of men whose abilities and advice I held in utter contempt; for, though a mere stripling, I deemed myself an accomplished scholar, and a perfect man of the world, and I felt satisfied of my competency to teach my instructors. In short, I stood like Hercules between two turnings, reflecting on the road he should take. On the one hand, I had to encounter the shame of returning to my country, and, on the other, the impossibility of remaining long in Holland; since, with the utmost frugality I could employ, my stock of money would scarcely suffice for the expenses of six months. I was alarmed also by the state of my health, for I labored under a continued fever, which reduced me to a deplorable state of weakness and emaciation, and added in no slight degree to my mental anxiety.

In this situation I was upon the point of determining to return to Norway, when my physician, Ivar Brederock, recommended me to try the baths of Aix la Chapelle, which were highly esteemed in cases of chronic disease. I readily caught at a proposition which could not fail to be attractive to a mind eager in the pursuit of novelty, and I rather followed the bent of my own inclination than my physician's advice, in undertaking a journey to Germany. I flattered myself that the very rashness of the enterprise would in some way or other ensure its success; but, contrary to my expectations, the journey cost me so large a sum that I despaired of being able to effect my return, especially as I was obliged to incur a considerable expense for the king's passport at Roermond; so that when I arrived at Aix la Chapelle I had only six imperials in my purse, with the useless testimonial, which I could not read without indignation; for the document, which seemed to me rather a satire than a testimonial, was couched in these terms—*Laissez passer et repasser le garçon Louis d'Holberg d'Amsterdam.*

My extremely youthful appearance had exposed me to derision on more than one occasion, for I overheard some of my fellow travelers observe, that I ought to be examined, and made to explain how it happened that I had left Norway alone, at an age when boys who cannot swim without corks, as the proverb has it, seldom venture to travel beyond the limits of their native country. The task of making this inquiry was, in fact, delegated to a certain priest, who, after he had desired me to approach with a magisterial air, proceeded to interrogate me after this fashion, When did you run away from school? My indignation was roused by this insult; and before the priest could add another word to his intended harangue, I poured forth a volley of Latin phrases which completely astonished and confounded my defenseless adversary, who, finding it expedient to abandon his dictatorial tone, exclaimed with respectful humility, *Die Heer ist en theologant! Ick gratulere, myn heer.*

Two years after this occurrence, when I was in England, and happened to be smoking my pipe in a coffee-house, a citizen of London, who entered the same box in which I was sitting, burst into a fit of laughter, exclaiming, "So the boy

must smoke tobacco forsooth!'' In France a similar mistake was made with respect to my age, even when I had attained the rank of a professor extraordinary; for a Parisian, having been asked by my landlord how old he took me to be, replied, *C'est un garçon de dix-huit ans.*

I lived three weeks at Aix la Chapelle with such frugality, that an anchorite need not have objected to my expenditure. At the expiration of this time, my necessities induced me to attempt the commission of an offense which neither before nor since ever entered my mind; that of sneaking off without paying my bill. Having packed up my clothes in my portmanteau, I rose at daybreak, and crept out at a back-door; but I was a very inexperienced cheat; and my host, who suspected my intentions, was on the watch for me, seized me at the threshold, and compelled me to satisfy his demands. This scene made a deep impression upon me; for a long time the image of my host was perpetually before my eyes; even in my dreams I saw him fastening upon my throat, and dragging me back with reproaches, which I had but too well merited, to the inn.

The payment of my bill having left me moneyless, I was compelled to return to Holland on foot. I was nevertheless in better spirits than usual; and whether constant bodily exercise or the baths had contributed to improve my health, I know not, but my strength was evidently much increased. That the mind depends for its support on the body, is a fact which I at that time fully experienced. My stock of money was exhausted, and I had no hope of obtaining a fresh supply; yet amidst these embarrassments I enjoyed perfect tranquillity of mind. I traversed every street in the city; I left no artifice or persuasion unemployed; I offered treble interest to bankers and money-changers; and I at length succeeded in obtaining from one of these accommodating persons a sufficient sum to pay my expenses to Norway. I was for some time in doubt whether I should return to Bergen or to some other part of Norway. At Bergen I had relations who could relieve my necessities; but I could not avoid reflecting on the ridiculous figure I should make there after my foolish expedition.

On the other hand, I had no relations or censors to fear in other parts of Norway; accordingly, having seriously taken all

these circumstances into consideration, I set out for Christiansand. Shortly after my arrival at this place, I formed an acquaintance with a student of Drontheim, named Christian Brixius, by whom I was recommended to several of the principal inhabitants, whose children I instructed in the French and other foreign languages.

I happened to have read at that time an anonymous pamphlet, in which the author endeavored to prove by sixty arguments that women are not human beings. As I was delighted with everything which had the air of novelty, this absurdity of course met my approbation; and as I had got all the arguments by heart, I took every opportunity of broaching the paradox, and of defending it with an earnestness proportioned to the zeal or indignation with which it was opposed. The sons of the late bishop of Christiansand attacked this doctrine with great vehemence, and they had reason to feel a more than ordinary interest in the argument, for they had a sister of great personal attractions, who was in their opinion eminently entitled to the rank and privileges of a human being. I soon began to perceive that the part I took in these discussions exposed me to considerable inconvenience; for certain sinister reports affecting my character were circulated about the town, and the women pointed at me in the streets as the monster who was endeavoring to close the gates of Paradise against them. I found it was high time to renounce my heresies; and to prove the sincerity of my recantation, I have since that time been on all occasions an encomiast of the fair sex. I soon succeeded in removing the unfavorable impressions which my fondness for disputation had excited against me; and, as I was a skillful musician, I had no difficulty in getting acquainted with the most elegant and accomplished women in Christiansand; and there is no part of Norway where a greater number of elegant and accomplished women are to be found.

I had spent some weeks in this manner, when I received an invitation from a clergyman who was distantly related to me, in whose house I remained during the whole winter; and, to make some return for my relative's hospitality, I taught him in that time the elements of the English language. A superficial knowledge of three or four languages had obtained for

me a great reputation among the inhabitants of Christiansand; and I well remember, when I was sauntering one day through the town, being followed by two young men, one of whom observed to the other, "That is the great scholar who knows so many languages, and speaks French, Italian, Polish, Russian, and Turkish." I was as distinguished a person in Christiansand, as Mithridates king of Pontus was in Asia; and everybody knows that historians record of that monarch, that he could speak twenty-two languages.

The number of my scholars increased daily, and among them were some persons of the highest distinction. I had, for instance, the commandant Nostitzius, who afterwards entered the Russian service, and became one of the first generals of his age. This success not only enabled me to pay all the debts I had contracted, but, upon balancing my accounts at the end of the winter, I found that I had a surplus of about twelve imperials. My plans however were somewhat disconcerted by the arrival of a Dutch merchant, who, having become a bankrupt in his own country, had fled to Christiansand, where he taught the French language, of which I had before the monopoly, for a very trifling remuneration. Having ascertained that my rival spoke French with a most barbarous accent, I was extremely desirous of proving my own superiority, and I accordingly challenged him to a public disputation in that language. Time and place were appointed; the scholars of both schools assembled; we met, we engaged; but it was a drawn battle. I assailed my rival with Norwegian French; he retorted in Dutch French, and never, I believe, was the French language more villainously distorted than it was on this occasion, both by its Dutch and Norwegian assassins. We both spoke with great difficulty, even when left to ourselves and in the calm possession of our faculties; but our mutual fury added so much to our embarrassment, that the number of solecisms we committed was surprisingly increased. Having exposed our ignorance to each other in this contest, we had the discretion to come to a friendly understanding, instead of continuing hostilities which would have been equally ruinous to both of us; and we accordingly, like Cæsar and Pompey, agreed to divide the territory of Christiansand between us. My claims to a monopoly were abandoned, and a

duumvirate was established. On my side I observed faithfully the articles of this peace; indeed, I intended shortly to leave the Dutchman in exclusive possession of the field, for I had determined to make a voyage to England in the spring. In this expedition my friend Christian Brixius had agreed to accompany me; he was not much better able than myself to support the expenses of traveling, but he had a rich mother at Drontheim, who could assist him in case of any emergency.

We embarked on board a vessel which lay off Herenthals, and after a voyage of four days arrived at Gravesend, a town situated at the mouth of the river Thames. Being tired of sailing, we left our baggage on board the vessel, and proceeded on foot to London. At Gravesend an English citizen, who happened to be making a visit at that place, put some questions to me about the climate and situation of Norway, which he supposed to be a city of Sweden. I have frequently remarked similar instances of ignorance with respect to everything connected with northern nations in England, in France, and in Italy. At Paris I heard a priest maintain resolutely that in the north of Europe the people were never baptized. An advocate in the supreme court at Paris asked, whether the road to Denmark lay through the Turkish empire? and another, whether persons who wished to sail to Norway were obliged to embark in the port of Marseilles? At Rome a young Piedmontese would not believe that I was a Norwegian, because he had learned from an historical itinerary, which he had at Rome, that the Norwegians were a deformed race of people, having pigs' eyes, and mouths which reached to the extremities of their ears. The people of the south of Europe, attending only to domestic concerns, pay little regard to those of foreign nations; we, on the other hand, neglect our own countries, and are extremely desirous of traveling and acquiring information abroad. The people of the south cultivate their own, but neglect foreign languages; we neglect our native idioms, and are anxious to attain a proficiency in the languages of foreign nations. Englishmen, who are fond of traveling, seldom cross the seas until they have seen all that is calculated to gratify curiosity in their own country; we, on the contrary, generally visit foreign countries before we know anything of our own.

But, to return to my narrative: on leaving Gravesend, we proceeded on foot to London. I acted as interpreter for my companion, who was ignorant of the English language, and could only attempt to make himself intelligible by signs. We stayed a short time at London, and then proceeded to Oxford, where, although our finances were at a low ebb, we spent some crowns in obtaining liberty of access to the library; for without this ceremony no one can enjoy the advantages of the public libraries at Oxford. But though we had entered our names among the votaries of learning in this university, our first care was not so much to avail ourselves of the privilege of examining and collating manuscripts, as to supply our domestic necessities, and to provide for the day that was passing over us. My companion professed music, and I professed grammar; but as we were no great proficients in the sciences we professed, we could not turn our acquisitions to much account in a place where it was to be expected that sound, not superficial, knowledge could alone insure the success of a teacher. We lived three months at Oxford with so rigid an attention to economy, that we ate meat only once in four days; on the other three days we were obliged to be contented with bread and cheese, or even a more scanty and unsubstantial repast. My health and strength, to which a frugal mode of living has always been favorable, continued unimpaired; but my companion, who had not been accustomed to such meager diet, lost his strength and flesh rapidly. Whenever the cravings of his stomach reminded him of his misfortunes, he cursed our ill-advised journey, and above all deplored the loss of the money which we had so improvidently thrown away for the sake of obtaining access to the library. At length he became melancholy, and wished to avoid altogether the society of mankind. I endeavored to rally his spirits, by quoting among other things the facetious observation of Bion, that it is absurd to tear our hair when we are in affliction, as if baldness were a remedy for sorrow. But I was addressing a man whom grief had rendered insensible, and on whom neither exhortation nor raillery could make the slightest impression.

Our affairs had now reached a crisis at which it was necessary that some decisive step should be taken; and we deter-

mined to leave our baggage at Oxford, and return on foot to London. Here my companion obtained a supply of money from a banker, on the security of a citizen of Drontheim, who was acquainted with his mother; and being once more enabled to gratify his appetite, he pampered it with all sorts of delicacies, and endeavored in this way to indemnify his stomach for the severe privations it had undergone. He recovered his flesh so rapidly, that though he left Oxford in a state of extreme emaciation, he returned after the lapse of a month with a paunch and complexion worthy of the best fed and ruddiest votaries of science in that university. He had abjured a life of solitude with the coarse fare which gave him a taste for it; and on our return to Oxford we indulged freely in the pleasures of a tavern which was much frequented by the students, with many of whom we soon became acquainted.

Many of these took every opportunity of eulogizing my learning and good qualities; my knowledge of foreign languages and my skill in music became the subject of general admiration; and the fame which I acquired through the good offices of the friends I had made at the tavern, induced many students to quit their tutors, and to receive instruction from me, as the most celebrated grammarian and musician of the age. It would have been hard to determine, whether I was better furnished with grammatical or musical knowledge. My mediocrity in both was discovered by some of my more sagacious scholars, but they were good-natured enough to conceal it. The levity and fickleness of many of the students, who, after obtaining a little elementary knowledge, quitted me at the end of the first month, were also of wonderful assistance to me; for the seasonable retirement of my pupils enabled me to preserve my character for erudition, to say nothing of the advantage I derived from a laudable custom, which prevails here, of paying double tutorage for the first month, the additional remuneration being termed entrance-money. By dint of teaching, however, I improved myself so much, especially in music, that I was considered one of the most scientific flute-players in the whole city, and I was admitted into a society, which met every Wednesday at Oxford, called the Musical Club. No one was received into this club without a previous examination; the specimen which I gave of my musical abili-

ties met with general approbation, and I afterwards became one of their most distinguished members.

I have always spoken Latin with difficulty and hesitation; such, at least, is my own opinion; but the English admired the readiness and fluency with which I expressed myself in that language. The truth is, that this exercise is so much neglected in England, that I met with no one, except Dr. Smalridge, who could speak Latin tolerably; I do not except even Hudson, the librarian, who was nevertheless considered one of the first philologists of his day. The Oxonians, indeed, hold their public disputations in the Latin language, but after so miserable and bungling a fashion, that if they happen to see the face of a stranger, they become embarrassed, look foolish, perspire, and break off the thread of their argument, naturally enough supposing that the intruder comes not to hear, but to laugh at them. I at length left Oxford, and returned to London, where I took care to see everything that was shown for nothing. I embarked on board a Swedish vessel, and after a voyage of five days landed safely at Elsinore, from which place I proceeded on foot to Copenhagen. My health was at this time sufficiently good, except that I could never drink wine without suffering a great degree of feverish excitement from it; a circumstance which was not without its convenience to a man whose finances were at a low ebb. But I was often rallied on this account by my acquaintances, some of whom imagined that my abstinence proceeded from religious motives, while others attempted to persuade me, by dull, prosing dissertations, that wine was the best thing in the world for my constitution, and that the juice of the grape, salutary in all cases, was singularly suited to a spare habit of body. To all this I replied, that I must be better acquainted than any other man with my own constitution, and that to preserve my health, I knew from experience, it was necessary not only to abstain from luxuries, but to observe great moderation even in my ordinary diet. I have been all my life so perpetually engaged in disputes of this kind, that if I were to choose a subject for public disputation, it should be a discussion of the properties of wine or beer; for in selecting this topic, I should possess the same advantages as men who have changed their religion, and who are more conversant with the articles of

faith they have abjured, in proportion as they are more exposed to the attacks of the sect from which they have deserted. To me, who hate the repetition even of a good thing, the continued infliction of such commonplaces as those I have alluded to is infinitely disgusting.

But to resume my narrative: though my health was good, my purse was nearly empty. I nevertheless thought it beneath the dignity of a gentleman, who had lived in a style of elegance and splendor, to get his living by the ordinary occupations of a schoolmaster; in a word, I was poor and proud. At length my affairs grew desperate, and I endeavored to make a compromise between my pride and my necessities, by giving instruction in a form and under conditions suited to the dignity of my character. I called my school a college, my scholars an audience, my stool a professorial chair: I did not teach languages, but I lectured on the philosophy of foreign idioms; I did not specify the terms of instruction, but I put forth an elaborate prospectus in the Latin language, inviting the literary and philosophical public to attend the lectures delivered at my college. Attracted by these lofty professions, students came in crowds to my lecture-room; they attended my lectures with great regularity, listened to them with profound attention, and took notes with laudable diligence; but when the time of paying me for my labors arrived, they all disappeared. The only advantage I reaped from my exertions was, that whenever my scholars afterwards met me in the streets, they saluted me by taking off their hats in the most respectful manner; an indisputable proof of their gratitude, but an indifferent consolation for a starving professor.

My scheme of public instruction, however splendid and imposing, was too unfavorable to the tranquillity of my stomach to admit of my persevering in the experiment; and I once more condescended to accept employment as a schoolmaster, which supplied my necessities, if it did not satisfy my pride. I did not, however, remain long in this situation; for it happened that Paul Vindingius, formerly a counselor of state, was about to send his son Andrew into Germany, and as he wanted a person to accompany the youth on his journey, I was selected for that purpose, although I was not personally known to the family.

We proceeded to Dresden, where I left young Vindingius at the house of the baron de Lovendal, and was civilly dismissed. I had scarcely returned from this expedition, when the late privy-counselor and arch-chamberlain, Frederick Gedde, offered to place his sons under my care and tuition. I hesitated for some time whether I should again undertake so troublesome an office; but necessity at length compelled me to accept a situation which, however irksome, seemed likely to open the way to future preferment. For the first six months I exercised my authority with sufficient vigor, but afterwards I grew weary of the labor of controlling my pupils; I became an indolent spectator of their quarrels, instead of interposing as I had formerly done; and when I beheld them tearing each other's hair in my presence, I contented myself with entreating them to desist. I had no reason to complain of the docility of my pupils, but they were exceedingly pugnacious. The youngest son made a rapid progress under my tuition, which I attributed however rather to his own diligence than to any exertions of mine. He was a youth of great promise, and might have been an ornament to his country, if his good qualities had had time to ripen; but he was killed in a duel by a Norwegian officer, whom he challenged in the Low Countries. The second son was drowned in crossing a river; the youngest and only surviving son is at this time captain of a troop of horse. I retired from this situation at the end of a year, having been admitted a member of the Medicean college.

During my residence in this college I published two works. The first was *"An Introduction to European History,"* after the plan of Puffendorf. This production appears, on a superficial examination, to be a mere translation; and, in fact, one of our Danish historians has not scrupled to assert that it is transcribed from the history of Puffendorf; a more attentive examination, however, will convince the reader that, with the exception of the section on Germany, it is derived from original sources. I commenced this work in England, when I had an opportunity of consulting the books from which the materials are taken in the Bodleian library, and when I was animated with the desire of becoming an author before I had acquired a beard. With this view I compiled a system of universal geography, subjoining an historical account of each

nation to my geographical description; but as the geography of Phlugius, in quarto, appeared at the time when my work was nearly ready for publication, I abandoned my original design, and afterwards published the historical part of my book under the above-mentioned title of *"An Introduction to European History."* I have since this time determined on several occasions to revise and improve the whole of this work, which, as I have stated, was begun at a very early period of my literary career; but other occupations have interposed, and prevented me from carrying these intentions into effect.

Not long after the publication of this work, I wrote an *"Appendix to the Universal History,"* giving an account of the present state of the principal kingdoms and governments of the world, in five volumes. The first volume only of this work was printed; the others still remain in manuscript. In fact, I was obliged at this time to abandon my inquiries into modern history, as it pleased our august sovereign to nominate me an extraordinary professor, and I immediately devoted myself to the study of ancient literature with a zeal proportioned to my gratitude for the honor which had been conferred upon me.

I was indebted for this mark of royal favor to a manuscript volume in folio, which I dedicated with all humility to his majesty; for I felt that, as I was but little known to the nobility, it was only from the countenance and patronage of my sovereign that I could hope for advancement. Nor were my hopes disappointed; for I immediately partook of that bounty which never fails to encourage meritorious exertions. The manuscript volume contained an account of the reigns of Christian the Fourth and Frederick the Third. I had consulted the best authorities, and cited them in the margin; that portion of the work which was taken from the writers of the Universal History, viz. Aitzema and Victorius Sirus, and from the first volume of the Theatrum Europæum, which is better than the succeeding volumes, occupied only a few pages. I confess that there are many defects in this performance; in fact, I did not venture to call it a history, but merely *"An Introduction to the History of Denmark."* It is to be comprised in two volumes; but the second volume, embracing

the reign of Christian the Fifth, I have not yet completed.

Such were my labors during the five years I remained in the Medicean college; and yet, because I neglected the usual scholastic disputations and declamations, many considered me an indolent man; and I was for the same reason held to be wholly ignorant of the Latin language, although, with the exception of the inspector of the college, Nicholas Aagard, I was in reality the only member of the college who understood the language of ancient Rome. It was thought extremely absurd, that a man who had never attended to the ordinary exercises of the schools, should attempt to discharge the duties of a professor; and certainly, if I were disposed to subscribe to the opinions of my academical censors, I must admit the charge of ignorance, for I should undoubtedly be rejected at one of their philosophical examinations. If I could form a syllogism, my success would be quite accidental, for I should not know whether it was in Barbara or Elisabetha. I have heard of something they call instrumental philosophy, of which logic and metaphysics, the tutelary divinities of the schools, form the chief ingredients; but I have no personal acquaintance with it; and I candidly confess that I am at this day ignorant how many predicaments, or predicables, logic can bring into the field, when an argument is to be taken by storm, or an obnoxious disputant is to be ousted from the chair. I have often thought of applying myself to these studies, but I have never had leisure to do so; and I am free to admit, although I am aware that I expose myself to the ridicule of the schoolmen by the avowal of so much ignorance, that I know absolutely nothing of instrumental philosophy, unless music form a part of their philosophical scheme, in which case, indeed, I may lay claim to a moderate degree of skill in instrumental music. Be this as it may, I trust that, as I quarrel not with other men's literary taste, I may be permitted to enjoy my own. It may be a problem, for aught I care, whether a man ignorant of the scholastic philosophy ought to be a public professor; it is beyond all controversy, however, that I *am* a public professor, and that those who take a different estimate of literary qualifications from the schoolmen, who are occupied only with unmeaning jargon, have judged me capable of discharging the duties of the office.

But my new dignity was accompanied with new inconveniences; for it imposed upon me the necessity of living with a certain degree of elegance, while in my public capacity I could no longer avail myself of those resources which were open to me in the more humble situation of a private instructor. A short time before my promotion I had obtained, by the kindness of Ivar Rosencrantz, privy counselor to the king, and patron of the Rosencrantzian Missionaries, a pension of 100 imperials for four years, subject to the liability of being sent abroad to the Protestant academies. I was one of the pensionaries selected for foreign service; and I was not sorry that this duty had devolved upon me; for as my narrow income compelled me to live with great economy, I thought I should be able to make it go farther abroad than in my own country.

I sailed immediately for Amsterdam, stopped a few days at Goude, and thence proceeded by land to Rotterdam, where I rested a whole day. In the boats drawn by horses in Holland it is difficult to sleep either by day or night; for amidst so many passengers there are generally some who are too riotous to permit other persons to enjoy repose. In the passage to Goude there was a young Swede on board, an admirable mimic, who would not suffer me to sleep for a moment; during the whole night he pretended to snore, or made horrible noises, as if oppressed by frightful dreams, which kept everybody awake.

At Rotterdam I saw in the evening some school-boys amusing themselves by throwing stones at the statue of Erasmus; and this, I was told, was their accustomed pastime. I was not surprised at the audacity of the boys, but at the negligence of those whose duty it was to repress it; for I could not help feeling indignant at witnessing this profanation of a monument which ought to be an object of veneration, not only to the fellow-citizens of the illustrious scholar whose ashes it contains, but to the whole literary world.

From Rotterdam I proceeded to Antwerp, where I lodged with a citizen of Hamburgh, whom I had known at Amsterdam, and who had lived some years at Drontheim. There I embarked on board a vessel, which conveyed me at a very moderate expense to Brussels. There was no conveyance by

water for the remainder of my journey, and I began to be alarmed at the expense I should probably incur; when it occurred to me that very respectable persons frequently traveled on foot, and that as we freely imitated the follies of the French, there was no reason why we should not also imitate their prudence; for Frenchmen, when they have no money to pay for a voiture, generally prefer traveling on foot. Yielding to these considerations, I sent forward my baggage by the public conveyance, and proceeded on foot to Paris. As this was a time of war, and I was not furnished with a passport, I was afraid of being detained at some of the garrisoned towns; but I was only once asked on my journey, as I was entering the mountains of Hainault, whither I was going, and whether I had a passport. I replied boldly, that I was proceeding to Paris, and that I had a royal passport in my pocket; upon which the sentinel, persuaded of the truth of my assertion, suffered me to pass on. I was annoyed, however, by the custom-house officers, who even examined my breeches pockets, to see whether I had tobacco or any other contraband commodity in them. In other respects, travelers are subject to less annoyance on this road than in Germany and other parts of the north of Europe, where they are obliged to remain outside the gates of a town until they obtain permission to pass from the magistrate or commandant, and where even at the inns they are compelled to register their names, country, occupation, and other particulars which the suspicion peculiar to northern nations exacts from them. I should have found it utterly impossible to travel without a passport through Germany, where you are asked ten times a day, by some surly grim-visaged sentinel whence you come, and whither you are going. When I was a member of the Medicean College, I remember meeting a lieutenant of the guards, not far from Elsinore, who, when I told him that I had walked five miles on foot, suspected me to be a Swedish spy; and notwithstanding my protestations of innocence, and the declaration of my name, country, and occupation, ordered one of his men to arrest me. I was conducted, like a prisoner of war, to an inn situated between Copenhagen and Elsinore, where I was examined, and at first condemned, but after some time acquitted, and civilly dismissed. The officer, who fancied that he had

made an important capture, and expected to enter the city in triumph, did not even reap the honor of an ovation.

But I have been carried too far into this discussion, and it is time to return to my own history. I soon began to perceive that my stipend of a hundred imperials would be insufficient to maintain me at Paris. Everything is dear in that capital, except literature; and this may be acquired at so cheap a rate, that I seemed to have brought my knowledge to a most unprofitable market. In Paris there are shoals of rhetoricians, grammarians, and lawyers, commonly called lecturers or *repétiteurs,* who instruct youth for a very moderate remuneration. One of these lecturers, with whom I became acquainted, gave me a pathetic account of the distresses of literary men in Paris. The Parisians are certainly not guilty of estimating a man's pretensions to learning and philosophy by the length of his beard or the meanness of his attire; on the contrary, the splendor of a man's dress and equipage is considered a test of his skill in the science he professes; and he who wants these external recommendations will strive in vain to derive a subsistence from his knowledge or accomplishments. There was a Lyonese in the house where I lodged, who possessed great skill in cleansing and extracting teeth, but who could get no business while he lived in a frugal and parsimonious manner. At length he became better acquainted with the character of the Parisians; and, as his circumstances were growing desperate, he set up a splendid carriage, and dressed magnificently; by which expedient he sold his dentifrice, and became one of the most distinguished tooth-drawers in Paris. My landlord, who was a tailor, dressed in a most extravagant style; and he assured me, that if he neglected to do so, the Parisians would suppose him to be needy, and he should get no employment.

Many of my countrymen came afterwards to Paris; among them was Michael Rög, one of our most distinguished engravers. He was at the public school of Bergen at the same time with myself, under the celebrated Lintrupius, and afterwards became a member of the university. He neglected literature however, and devoted himself to the art of engraving, in which he soon arrived at great eminence. At Paris, upon the exhibition of some specimens of his skill, he was

appointed one of the king's engravers. I had lived a year and a half at Paris, when, not satisfied with having seen France, England, Germany, and Holland, I was tormented with the desire of visiting more remote countries. The passion for traveling grows stronger by indulgence; and he who is once seized with it can no more stop short, than the despairing lover who has precipitated himself from the fatal rock. I had been told by a French student, that it was possible to go from Paris to Rome for a sum scarcely exceeding twenty imperials. Delighted to hear this intelligence, I eagerly inquired into all the particulars; and from this time I could think of nothing but a journey to Italy, though reason suggested a thousand obstacles to my undertaking such an expedition. My weak constitution, my narrow circumstances, and the dangers and difficulties I might expect to encounter on such a journey, all presented themselves to my mind in my calmer moments; but that enterprising spirit which distinguishes my countrymen, and which impels them to hazard everything for the gratification of their curiosity, finally prevailed, and I determined to set out immediately for Italy; a resolution which exposed me to some malicious insinuations in my own country, for it was reported there that I had changed my religion, and had no intention of returning to my native land.

It was in the beginning of the month of August that I took my passage in a boat which conveyed me to Auxerre. I concluded that the religious zeal of the people of this city must have been greater than that of the Parisians, if their piety was to be measured by the size of the colossal statue of St. Christopher, which is taller than the colossal statue of the same saint at Paris, although the latter is so large that the ceremony of the mass is performed between its legs. The whole journey from Paris to Auxerre, though it occupied some days, cost me but a trifling sum. The impossibility of sleeping, from the number of passengers, and from the noise which is usually made on board the vessel, is the chief objection to this conveyance. In other respects the journey was sufficiently agreeable; for the banks of the river were almost uninterruptedly clothed with wood or waving corn; and villas, either situated on its margin, or glittering in the distance, enhanced

the beauty of the scene, while jests and merry tales went round, and contributed to promote the good humor of the company. I observed that most of the passengers made their arrangements for traveling on foot; and, in imitation of so laudable an example, which was well suited to the state of my finances, I went on foot to Chalons, the whole of which journey occupied about six days. I selected for my companions some of the passengers who seemed to be of the most respectable class; but I learned on this occasion the danger of trusting too much to appearances; for out of three companions, the one in whom I placed the least confidence proved to be the only honest man, while the others turned out to be most atrocious scoundrels. During the whole journey I heard nothing but lying, boasting, and obscenity; all infallible marks of the vicious and depraved character of my companions. They appeared, however, to be no strangers to Parisian elegance and refinement; for one of them swore that he could give a list of more than twenty women of condition from whom he had received favors; and he also mentioned some new and ingenious oaths he had learned at Paris, none of which, he assured us, had yet been introduced into the provinces.

Having spent eight days at Marseilles, I took my passage on board a vessel bound for Genoa. The entrance of the port of Marseilles is difficult, for it is necessary to make almost a complete circuit before you get to the open sea; but the harbor is the more secure on that account, since the waves even of the roughest sea are so completely broken before they approach the shore, that they reach it with a subdued and expiring sound. I omit all circumstantial details respecting wind and weather, and shall only observe that I was seized during this voyage with a fever, which was probably occasioned by my having eaten too large a quantity of grapes, which are apt to produce febrile disorders, if they are eaten before they are quite ripe. For eight days I lay in the master's cabin, scarcely able to move; the rest of the passengers went on shore to enjoy themselves almost every day. On one occasion I recollect hearing them mention, on their return, that they had heard a curious dialect, which was neither French nor Italian, in a Ligurian town where they passed the night. One of the words they mentioned was *tosa,* a waiting-maid; and as the

Norwegians call a waiting-maid *tosa* or *tausa* at this day, I had no hesitation in classing this among the Gothic or Lombardian words, as others have observed with respect to *tasca, stuffo, stalla, stivali, &c.*

When I arrived at Genoa, I hoped that by having recourse to medicine I should be able to get the better of my disorder; but my fever became so violent that I was obliged to keep my bed. From a continued fever it became a quartan, which the Genoese assured me would last the whole winter; for this was the usual duration of the quartan, which commonly attacked in the autumn those who were seized with continued fever in the summer. I should have borne my misfortune patiently, if it had happened in any other country than Italy, and in any other city of Italy than Genoa, where I found honesty, compassion, and every other Christian virtue, utterly proscribed among the keepers of taverns. The Genoese, who are described by the Italians themselves as a faithless race, *gente senza fede*, are not likely to merit a better character from people of other countries; and the innkeepers of Genoa, whom even the Genoese denounce, must have reached the very climax of iniquity. My landlord charged me not only for the nights, but for the hours I reposed in his house; and when weakness compelled me to remain in my bed during the day, he demanded *tanto per la notte, è tanto per il giorno*—so much for the night, and so much for the day.

At length my disorder reached such a height, that my life was in danger. It may easily be imagined how I reproached myself with my folly for having undertaken this journey, when I might have passed the winter comfortably and cheerfully among my friends in Paris. I lay here in a state of destitution; I had no one to attend to my bodily complaints, no one to console me even in the hour of death. I strove indeed as much as possible to conceal my sufferings, lest I should be tormented by the monks, whose importunities would infallibly, in my exhausted condition, have hurried me to the grave. I put my sole trust in Providence, and with a firm spirit I bore all my sufferings in silence; in short, I struggled against my disease with such success, that I at length passed the crisis; and at this juncture chance threw in my way a friend whose kind offices soon changed the aspect of my for-

tunes. I was sitting at my window, after the violence of my fever had somewhat abated, when I perceived a young Frenchman with whom I was slightly acquainted. I beckoned him into the hotel, and entered into a pathetic detail of all my misfortunes. Moved by the account of my sufferings, and indignant at the conduct of the innkceper, he left me to remonstrate with that person. He met however with so unceremonious a reception from the innkeeper, that from words they soon proceeded to blows. I witnessed the strife through a key-hole, and was delighted to see my generous champion pummeling the rogue's head with the knuckles of his left hand, while the palm of his right hand was applied in quick succession to the leathern jaws of his adversary. When the battle was concluded, my friend returned to my apartment, and recommended me to pack up my effects and quit the hotel immediately. I left this den of iniquity, and was conducted by the young Frenchman to another inn, where I soon gained strength enough to be able to walk out on the days when my fever intermitted. I admired the noble edifices of this city, which exceeded in magnificence all that I had heard or read of them. In the strect called *Strada Nuova*, every house seems to be a palace rather than a private residence; in other streets, though not so uniformly magnificent as the Strada Nuova, elegant marble buildings abound. The churches are also remarkable for their marble pavements and the splendor of their architectural embellishments. In this city I first heard an Italian concert; it partook in some measure of the character of French music, for they used horns and trumpets, instruments which have long since been disused in other parts of Italy; a circumstance which may be accounted for by the vicinity of Genoa to France. In vocal music, the singers who take the first part generally affect a plaintive, whining intonation; so that one might almost suppose they were undergoing corporal punishment, and that the musical director was compelling them to sing against their will. I have noticed the same whining style of singing in other parts of Italy; and it is not without reason therefore, that the French tax the Italian singers with these weeping propensities.

Shortly after the departure of my friend I embarked on board a vessel for Rome. I was still a prey to anxiety, for my

quartan fever continued with little abatement, and I was apprehensive of being attacked by the pirates who infest the Mediterranean till the beginning of autumn. Our vessel was furnished with two guns, which would have availed us little against a well-appointed sloop of war. Besides the sailors, we had on board forty passengers, who would have been of little assistance in case of attack; for among them were ten monks, who trembled at the very name of a Turkish corsair, and six Italian women, who occupied the captain's cabin, while the rest of the passengers lay promiscuously on deck or in the rigging; a miserable lodging for a patient laboring under a fever. Among the passengers was a French captain, who had served in Germany; and to his kindness I was indebted for some alleviation of my misery; for he accommodated me with a great coat and other covering, while he himself lay exposed to the inclemency of the weather.

We arrived at length at Civita Vecchia, where I determined to proceed to Rome on foot, thinking it a greater evil to contend with the tide of the Tiber for three successive days. I found the whole road leading to Rome infested with serpents, so that I could scarcely venture to take any repose on the ground during the whole journey. It is, in my opinion, owing to this nuisance, rather than—what is commonly believed—to the unwholesome quality of the air about Rome, that no one can pass the night in the open air without danger; for if the quality of the air were unwholesome, it is singular that the sailors belonging to vessels lying in harbor, who are in the habit of sleeping in the open air, suffer no inconvenience. It cannot be denied that strangers who go to Rome in the summer are subject to disease, and that consequently travelers who visit this city for pleasure, commonly defer their journey till the beginning of October. It is not easy to determine the cause of the insalubrity which is usually attributed to the climate of Rome; for the situation of that city is the same as it was formerly, and no mention is made by ancient writers of the air being unfavorable to strangers. Admitting that modern Rome is somewhat more distant from the sea, this circumstance will not account for the difference in the quality of the air; for the air of Civita Vecchia, which is a maritime town, is still more unhealthy than that of Rome. After a

journey of two days, I entered Rome at the gate near the Vatican; and here the noble church of St. Peter, and the papal palace, bursting upon my view, banished for the moment all anxiety from my mind. Above all, I was struck with the magnificence of the church; wherever the eye turned, it was gratified by some striking exhibition of modern art, or some monument of ancient splendor. When I had in some measure gratified my curiosity, I went through the city in search of a hotel; and in that part of it which is now called *Piazza di Spagna,* at the end of two hours, I found an inn, where I remained confined a whole month, endeavoring to subdue the obstinacy of my fever by medicine.

The modern Romans know so little about the monuments of antiquity, that if you ask for the Pantheon, you will be answered, *Non loso;* if you inquire for the amphitheater of Vespasian, the reply will be *Non intendo,* although these monuments have, in a great degree, escaped the injuries of time, and may therefore be readily pointed out. It is necessary therefore to know the modern names of these ancient relics; ask for the Coliseum, and you will find the amphitheater of Vespasian; inquire for the Rotunda, and you will be directed to the Pantheon. I did not suffer my attention to be so much absorbed by the relics of ancient Rome as to neglect what was worthy of examination in the modern city. I explored all the porticos, I visited the principal palaces, and most of the monasteries and churches in the city. The *Chiesa Nova* possessed great attractions for me, on account of the eloquent sermons which were daily delivered there by three fathers of the order of preachers. One mounted from the pulpit as another descended from it, so that in the course of an hour and a half three sermons were delivered, one of which was always devoted to the praise of some saint. In these panegyrics of saints it would have been difficult to determine, whether the elegance of the diction were greater than the absurdity of the arguments which were usually employed. The preachers were always eloquent; but they appeared as scrupulously to avoid every argument which was not ridiculous, as their auditors seemed anxious to pin their faith upon everything which was most incredible.

The decorations of the churches, and the music which is

performed in them, gratify at once the senses of sight and hearing. The instrumental pleased me more than the vocal music of the Italians; for the latter, as I have before observed, is characterized by a disagreeable whining intonation. I saw Clement the Eleventh only on two occasions, for his years and infirmities prevented him from appearing often in public, though in the early period of his pontificate he had made himself extremely popular, and was in the habit of granting access to everybody on the first day of every month. He was carried to the chapel in a chair by four Swiss bodyguards; and as he was borne along, he scattered on all sides his apostolical benedictions, which usually produce very beneficial effects upon the faithful. My incredulity, I suppose, prevented me from deriving any benefit from them, for I did not experience the slightest remission of my quartan. The cardinals followed, each in his turn kissing the pope's finger, on which was placed the fisherman's ring; after which his holiness exclaimed with a tremulous voice, *Dominus vobiscum.* Here I must unburthen my conscience by making confession of two offenses or peccadilloes, according to the judgment that may be passed upon them, which I committed at Rome. One was, that as the pope passed I fell upon my knees with the rest of the multitude. This is a ceremony to which everybody who goes to see the pope must submit; and to leave Rome without seeing his holiness, is considered such a mark of stupidity, that it has passed into a proverb. It is true that I am a Lutheran; but I am not one of those who deem it a crime to treat a sovereign, whose religion differs from our own, with the usual marks of reverence. The other offense to which I allude may be thought the more inexcusable as I was not obliged to commit it. I ascended on my knees the steps which are said to have been taken from the court-house of Pontius Pilate, and which our Savior is said to have trodden when he was taken before that judge. I considered that such a mark of reverence was not inappropriate, if the relic were really genuine; and that if it were not genuine, I might be excused for complying with the usual custom, since even the error was a proof of my piety and humility.

In this manner I passed the whole winter at Rome, when I began to think of returning to my own country; but I dreaded

to expose myself again to the dangers from which I had escaped in my late voyage.

To return by land was a more arduous, but upon the whole a safer undertaking; and I finally decided upon this course, which indeed the straitness of my circumstances almost compelled me to take. I had besides some hope that by constant exercise I should overcome the obstinacy of the quartan, under which I still labored.

Accordingly, about the end of February I left Rome; and after a journey of fourteen days I arrived at Florence in tolerable health and spirits. I proceeded through Savoy and Dauphiny, and arrived at length at Lyons, where I considered myself as having reached a safe port after my fatigues and perils; for the remainder of my journey, with the exception of a few miles through Burgundy, could be accomplished without difficulty, as I had enough money left to pay for my passage by water.

On my arrival at Amsterdam, I found part of my baggage, which I had left in the custody of my landlord, safe and untouched; he had kept it, he told me, not on my account, for he took it for granted that I was dead, but for the benefit of my heirs. I had still my quartan for a constant companion. All my acquaintances were astonished at the obstinacy of a complaint which could be subdued neither by physic nor time, nor by continued exercise and change of situation. Among them was a resident of Amsterdam named Adrian Gelmeyden, a townsman of mine, being a native of Bergen in Norway, who told me that he had a doctor lodging in his house who would cure me for nothing. But instead of consulting doctors, I repaired to a party of musicians, with whom I had been in the habit of playing before my departure for France; and being furnished with an instrument by one of them, I spent the whole day and a great part of the night in a very agreeable manner, expecting according to custom an attack of my quartan on the next day; but my quartan had fled, I suppose, to Italy, from whence it came; for I never afterwards experienced any febrile symptom, except that, on the days when I was subject to these attacks, I for some time felt a little numbness creep over my body. Thus a complaint which had baffled the resources of medicine was cured by

music. It may be said perhaps, that the same thing happened to me which occurs to patients who get well spontaneously, and attribute their cure to the last physician who attends them, denouncing all whom they have employed during the active stage of their disorder. Thus in my case I may absurdly ascribe to the efficacy of music, what was really attributable only to the decline of the fever. Be that as it may, I got well, whether I was indebted to music or to nature for my recovery. Shortly afterwards I embarked on board a vessel for Hamburgh, from which place I proceeded on foot to Copenhagen.

Thus I was once more restored to my native country; but my income was so narrow, that I spent two years struggling with the greatest difficulties, and bitterly inveighing against the fates for not cutting short the lives of the professors whose longevity was a sore hindrance to my advancement. In the meantime I published a little work in the Danish language under the title of *An Introduction to the Law of Nature and of Nations,* according to the principles of Grotius and Puffendorf, which authors, together with Christopher Thomas, I made my constant guides in this performance. In this work the laws and constitutions of Denmark and Norway are cited, instead of the Code and Pandects; and historical examples, calculated to illustrate the ethical part of the treatise, are taken not merely from the Roman and Grecian history, but from that of northern nations. The work, however, was not generally relished, though at once perspicuous and useful, especially to the inhabitants of this kingdom, to whom nothing can be more advantageous than a knowledge of natural law; for the Danish law is so concise and circumscribed that, unless a judge be well skilled in natural law, he must necessarily find great difficulty and commit frequent errors in administering it; whereas in Germany, and other countries where the Roman law obtains, a judge of moderate capacity, if he rely not on his own judgment, has so vast a field before him in the volumes of the civilians, where he will find parallel cases adjudged upon sound principles, that he can scarcely fail of coming to a just decision. In this country there is much greater difficulty in administering the law, because it is necessary to frame five hundred imaginary cases out of one

case upon which the decision must be founded; a point upon which I could throw some light, if it were my object to write a treatise upon the Danish law.

But, to return from this digression: such was the fate of my Introduction, that although a thousand copies were printed, scarcely three hundred were sold in the space of ten or twelve years; the rest either fell into the hands of confectioners, or made a banquet for moths and worms, greatly to the dissatisfaction of the bookseller at whose cost the edition was published. I may appear perhaps to censure my countrymen too severely for the little encouragement they extend to literature. This is however far from my intention; I do not mean to reproach them, but to admonish them against complaining of the indolence of literary men, since their own neglect of literature is the cause why so little is written, and why so many manuscripts are kept locked up in chests, or serve to envelop red herrings and cheesecakes.

I passed two years in anxious expectation of some favorable change in my circumstances, when the professorship of metaphysics became vacant, and I obtained the appointment. The salary annexed to this professorship was small, but it supplied in some measure my immediate necessities. Those who knew my character and literary taste, predicted the downfall of metaphysics as soon as I was appointed; and not without reason; for I candidly confess that I paid little regard to the beaten track pursued by my predecessor, and that this science was not likely to flourish much under my auspices. I had the prudence however to dissemble my opinions, and I even pronounced an oration in praise of metaphysics; but it was such an oration as gave little satisfaction to the philosophers of the old school, who believed that I was celebrating the obsequies of the science, instead of pronouncing a panegyric upon it.

Many changes took place shortly after in the university, in consequence of the death of some members, and the promotion of others to ecclesiastical benefices and bishoprics. I was appointed to the situation of consistorial assessor, a place of dignity and profit to which my standing in the university entitled me.

Being thus freed from the domestic anxieties with which

I had been all my life contending, I began to think of recruiting my strength, which was impaired by long sickness, harassing journeys, and constant solicitude, and of passing the remainder of my days in peace and tranquillity. But my fate ruled it otherwise, for one of my colleagues raised a dispute with me on the question of seniority, and of a certain part of my salary, which by the statutes of the university I received on the ground of seniority. This question was brought before the senate; and after arguments had been heard on both sides, it was adjudged in my favor.

Hitherto I had devoted myself entirely to jurisprudence, history, and languages, neglecting all other studies, and especially the study of poetry, which I held in such contempt that I could not hear the finest passages of the best writers without impatience. I had cultivated Latin poetry indeed, as a sort of necessary evil; and I had perused the Latin poets, not because I took any pleasure in reading them, but with a view of improving myself in the language; as sick men swallow bitter drafts, not because they are grateful to the palate, but because they are recommended by their physicians as efficacious remedies.

But our intellectual tastes are so constituted, that what we dislike at one time, we relish highly at another; and a change of studies is as grateful to the mind, as a variety of grain is favorable to the fertility of the earth. I had now reached my thirtieth year without ever having attempted to write a poem, though in the city where I resided poets swarmed every year like flies in the month of September. At length, my ears being assailed with poems on all sides, I determined to try my hand at an imitation of the sixth satire of Juvenal. My facility was greater than I had anticipated. I finished my satire in a few days, and showed it to a friend, who was of opinion that it was full of the true spirit and genius of poetry, though deficient in point of mechanical accuracy. My friend gave me some instruction in the rules of prosody observed in Danish poetry, by which I afterwards profited; and having made a few more trifling but not unsuccessful attempts, I sat down, full of confidence in my own powers, to compose that celebrated heroi-comic poem which is now read and committed to memory even by Swedes and Germans,

whom its popularity has induced to learn the Danish language.

This poem was differently received according to the different character and disposition of its readers. Some were secretly displeased with it; others openly avowed the indignation it excited; some imagined themselves to be attacked under fictitious names; and others, feeling equally guilty, and expecting similar treatment, joined in the abuse of the author. Some, whose reading had never extended beyond epithalamiums, epitaphs, and panegyrics, were alarmed at the novelty of this production, and condemned the audacity of the satirist; others, conceiving their enemies to be the objects of attack, read the poem with laughter and delight, and took every opportunity of repeating what they considered the severest passages in the hearing of those to whom the satire was supposed to apply. The vulgar, whose opinions are commonly superficial, deemed it the work of an idler; and some literary characters, in their excessive anxiety to show their penetration, were equally at fault with the vulgar.

There were some, however, who formed a more favorable judgment of the merits of this production, and who applauded me, when my name became known, for my attempt to combine satire with pleasantry, and to temper the severity of reproof by the graces of poetical embellishment. In their opinion my poem was so far from meriting the light estimation in which some critics held it, that they considered its appearance an era in the literature of the country. The Danes, said they, have at length a poem in their native language, which they need not be ashamed to show to Frenchmen and to Englishmen. By their persuasions I was induced to continue this poem till it reached four books, and formed a considerable volume, of which not less than three editions were sold in the space of a year and a half; a degree of success which had never before attended any book written in the Danish language. The last of these editions was carefully revised, and also embellished with engravings. I heard afterwards that my poems had a considerable sale in Sweden and Germany; and it gave me no small satisfaction to find that productions which had been so popular in my own country, had met with an equally favorable reception abroad. But

why do I boast of all this success, as if I wished to avail myself of the privilege which poets have to commit extravagancies? I do not, however, proclaim my own opinion of my poetical merits, but the opinion which the world has been pleased to pronounce upon them; and whether the world be right or wrong, I am not the less satisfied with its decision. I begin, indeed, to think that there must be some merit in productions which so many men of sound judgment in different countries have concurred in approving, and that there cannot be much to blame in what men of the highest literary and moral character have read with pleasure. I pass over all the furious criticisms, all the virulent accusations, with which I was assailed; suffice it to say, that when the poem was examined before the supreme council, his most gracious majesty's learned counselors pronounced it a pleasant and unobjectionable production.

When the ferment produced by the *History of Peter Paarsius* (for so the poem was called) had in some degree subsided, I began to think of writing a few more satires, and soon after published five, the first of which is leveled generally against the folly of mankind, and is called *Democritus and Heraclitus.* The second is an apology for the singer Tigellius, in which it is shown that the inconsistency for which Horace ridicules Tigellius, is a folly from which neither Horace himself, nor the greater part of mankind, are exempt. The third satire contains a criticism on the history of Peter Paarsius. In the fourth satire, which is written in imitation of the sixth of Juvenal, the poet dissuades a friend, advanced in years, from marrying. The fifth is a defense of the fair sex, in which it is shown that women are excluded from holding public offices, not by the laws of nature, but by prescription and arbitrary institutions. To each satire was prefixed an apologetic preface, in which objections were met, and the design of the poet distinctly laid open. These precautions, in some degree, disarmed resentment; but there were many who still continued to regard me with aversion, and to think that everything was to be dreaded from a poet who attacked with such unsparing severity the vices and follies of mankind. I remember being once asked by a man, who was himself by no means illiter-

ate, to write some verses against a brother of his, who was an exceedingly profligate character. I replied in the words of Pliny, that I attacked vices, not men; and that if I ever departed from this rule, and directed my satire against individuals, I should make a point of beginning with myself. By such answers and candid avowals as these, I endeavored to remove the unfavorable impressions which were entertained of me; but I was not always successful, for many were firmly persuaded that there was a latent venom in everything I said and did, and that all my professions of liberality were feigned and extorted from me by fear. If I expressed an opinion about the weather, or any other ordinary topic, they would be sure to detect a double meaning in it, a literal and a mystical one. Nothing could be more erroneous than this opinion of the duplicity of my character; for I am naturally of a candid, open disposition. I am irritable and passionate; but, whether angry or pleased, I am incapable of disguising my feelings, and my countenance is sure to betray them; in fact, I should be more justly blamed for the indiscreet frankness, than for the closeness and duplicity, of my character.

My satires, and the oration I delivered some years before in praise of metaphysics, had given rise to a pretty general persuasion, that I should never excel in panegyric. Accordingly, when I was made secretary of the university, and it became my duty to write a program, in which, according to custom, the candidates for the degrees of bachelors and masters were to be eulogized, my friends predicted that I should fail; and their prediction was verified, for the program was suppressed, and many malicious reports were circulated against me on account of certain passages contained in it. The proscription of this program, however, enhanced its price, as is commonly the case; for suppression is the food of reputation, and it is that species of food on which it grows fastest.

Weary of continuing pursuits from which I derived but little profit, and which exposed me to so much calumny and misconstruction, I abandoned poetry, and betook myself to my former studies, determining to complete a work which I had begun some years before, comprehending a succinct

account of the civil and ecclesiastical state of both kingdoms. But while I was engaged in this work, some of my friends, among whom were many persons of the first distinction, who wished to introduce into this country regular plays, like those of other nations, written in the Danish language, and who, judging from the success of my poem and satires, thought me capable of succeeding equally in the drama,—solicited me to turn my attention to this branch of writing. It was not easy for me to resist these solicitations on the one hand; but on the other I was afraid of adding fuel to the malice of my enemies, from which I had already suffered enough to convince me how dangerous an enterprise it is to make war against the follies and prejudices of mankind. I was at length, however, prevailed upon to undertake the task, and I wrote those plays which have since been collected into several volumes, and which are now in everybody's hands. I made it my chief object in these comedies to attack follies and vices which had escaped other dramatic writers, and which, in some instances, were peculiar to the people of this country. I at first contented myself with reading these plays to my friends, and was for some time in doubt whether I should suffer them to be exhibited on the stage; but I yielded to continued importunity, and gave the first five to the company of comedians.

It afforded matter of astonishment to many persons, that I should have been able in so short a time to produce so many comedies, most of which were leveled against vices and follies which had not been noticed by other comic writers; and there were not wanting those who ascribed the facility of production to the intrinsic mediocrity of these dramatic compositions. To reply to such insinuations would be only to proclaim my own praise; and I shall therefore content myself with stating the fact, that my comedies were played on alternate nights with Moliere's, with equal success, although the French pieces had the advantage of being represented under the superintendence of the celebrated French comedian Montacute. Besides, it must be considered that there is perhaps no country in the world in which talent of native growth is so much undervalued as our own. Persons who have any pretension to refinement, and especially the

women, who give the tone to fashion and taste, despise everything that is not French. If my plays, therefore, have met with so favorable a reception, if they have been so frequently represented, and have proved so large a source of profit to the comedians, their success cannot be attributed to the charm of novelty, or to the superior advantages under which they were performed. Many attempts, both open and secret, have been made to destroy or undermine the reputation which I have acquired by my dramatic writings; but all these attempts have failed, and my comedies have continued in full possession of the public favor, equally approved by all classes from the lowest to the most exalted.

One of my most distinguished friends has felt some surprise, and has expressed his regret, as well on my own account as for the sake of the public, that I should have discontinued writing for the stage. Why he should regret on public grounds the discontinuance of Danish theatricals, I can readily conceive, since all who have the interests of their country at heart, must have been pleased at performances not less honorable than useful; honorable, because they taught other nations to respect the literary reputation of Denmark; and useful, because they exhibited a faithful picture of human life—because they inculcated moral instruction, which the people would never find in the crude plays of the strollers to which they had been accustomed—and finally, because they drove from our shores troops of foreigners, whose performances not only cheated us of our money and our time, but were calculated to corrupt the national manners, to enervate the national taste, and, above all, to debase the morality of the country. I remember an exclamation made by a friend of mine, when he overheard a waiting-maid discussing with considerable acuteness some absurdities of conduct at that time satirized on the Danish stage. "Happy," said he, "is the city, where even waiting-maids talk like philosophers!" There was another advantage resulting from these performances—that they tended to refine the Danish language, into which considerable confusion has crept in consequence of the little attention that has been paid to it. For all these reasons I am not surprised that my friend

should have regretted the discontinuance of Danish performances on public grounds; but why he should have regretted it on my account, I am at a loss to conceive; since it has exempted me from all the ill-will, anxiety, and labor, to which I was subjected when I wrote for the theater. I injured my health by writing so assiduously, and I gained little or nothing by my labor; whereas in France or England two or three thousand dollars are often made by a single successful play. I cannot help thinking, therefore, that I ought to be congratulated upon having abandoned so invidious and unprofitable an employment.

Finding my health impaired by so much unintermitted labor, I determined to go to the baths of Aix-la-Chapelle; and having procured a royal passport, I set out on my journey in the beginning of the month of June 1725.

I expected to derive as much benefit from exercise, as from the baths; but I was disappointed in this expectation, for I found that the degree of bodily exertion which in my younger days, when I lived somewhat more freely, was extremely beneficial, now that I was more advanced in years, and observed the most rigid temperance in my mode of living, was unfavorable to my health. The weather was so inclement this year, that, although the summer was far advanced, rains fell incessantly, accompanied with severe cold. The vessel in which I crossed the straits of the Baltic encountered a heavy storm, from which she narrowly escaped.

Having accomplished, however, the most fatiguing part of the journey, I thought it would not be expedient to return to Norway in the autumn; and I resolved, therefore, to pass the winter at Brussels and Paris. Accordingly I took my passage in the boat which goes from Amsterdam to Rotterdam. This conveyance appears to be very convenient, especially to those who take their baggage with them; but I advise all men to avoid going by this boat, unless they take the precaution of securing to themselves the captain's cabin. I neglected this precaution; and the consequence was, that I was obliged to pass a sleepless night in the common cabin, which was filled with sailors just arrived from India, who were going to Zeeland. The vulgar conversation, coarse jokes,

and obscene songs, of these men, together with the clouds of smoke with which they filled the room, so that at mid-day the darkness was complete, all sorely annoyed me; but I bore everything with patience, until I heard them enter into a compact that no one should sleep for a moment during the whole night. I had some hope that this agreement, made over their cups, would be forgotten when they had finished their debauch; but as they continued drinking brandy all night, the compact was steadily observed; and if I nodded for an instant, I was immediately jogged by one of the party, and in this way prevented from taking the slightest repose. At length I arrived, ill at ease both in body and mind, at Rotterdam, where, in relating what had happened to a French colonel named *Caneau,* I learned for my consolation from that officer, who had recently returned from Spain, that he had passed just such a night on board the same boat. This colonel afterwards accompanied me to Antwerp; he was an obliging, thoroughly accomplished gentleman, and showed great readiness on all occasions to render me every service in his power. We were twenty-four hours in going from Rotterdam to Antwerp, though the passage does not occupy more than half that time if the wind is favorable. The appearance of Antwerp presents a striking contrast to that of Rotterdam. In Rotterdam, which ranks as the second commercial city in Holland, all is noise, bustle, and activity; in Antwerp a profound tranquillity reigns throughout the city. Rotterdam is distinguished for its wealth, Antwerp for its poverty; Rotterdam for the coarse vulgarity which characterizes its citizens, Antwerp for the cultivated and polished manners of its inhabitants. In Rotterdam various religions and different modes of worship prevail; in Antwerp the Catholic religion obtains to the exclusion of all others; for the people of Flanders and Brabant, accustomed to live under the Spanish government, are held to be more orthodox than the Italians themselves. The cities, the suburbs, the country, and even the highways, are so crowded with sanctuaries and divinities, that in the Low Countries it is easier to find a god than a man. From Antwerp I proceeded to Mechlin, where I was obliged to stop some time for a conveyance. While I was sauntering about the town, I met a friar of the

order of St. Francis, who took me into their monastery. There is a fine garden belonging to the monastery, every nook and corner of which is furnished with the image of some saint, a species of embellishment which does not exactly suit the taste of a heretic. In the church there was a series of pictures illustrating the different passages in the life of St. Francis. My guide gave me an amusing specimen of his ignorance in the following explanation of one of these pictures. "Here," said he, "you see the penitent St. Francis, who, after abjuring the heresy of the Calvinists with which he was infected, throws himself upon his knees before his father, by whom he is severely reprimanded."

I spent some days at Brussels, and then proceeded to Paris, the aspect of which city was unusually melancholy in consequence of the scarcity of provisions, the price of the pound loaf of bread being at that time ten sous. The people, driven to desperation, had assembled in mobs, and committed many excesses, which were only repressed by the capital punishment of two citizens. About the same time the miraculous cure of a woman who had long labored under a bloody flux, was the subject of much conversation, and the history of the miracle was printed and circulated among the people; but the lower classes of the community, anxious only to appease their hunger, cared little about miracles at this juncture; and I heard one of them say, "There is a better crop of miracles than of corn this year; and while the saints are working miracles, we are dying of hunger!"

I hired an apartment in the Rue St. Jaques, not far from the gardens of the Luxembourg; a quarter of the city which I preferred to all others on account of the salubrity of the air. There was one inconvenience, however, attending a residence in this part of Paris, which was, that it was more than any other infested by beggars. It was ludicrous to see fashionably dressed men, reeking with essences and perfumes, carrying a bushel of flour on their wigs, begging piteously for a morsel of bread, and declaring with uplifted hands that they were dying of hunger. I once observed a well-dressed man ask alms from a female passenger elegantly attired in a silk dress. The application was unsuccessful; and no wonder—for I observed the same female solicit relief

from another passenger. The female shortly after fell down in a fainting fit, and was carried home to her lodging, which proved to be a wretched hovel; and I ascertained that the unfortunate woman had been reduced to such distress, that she could scarcely obtain sufficient food to support life. I mention these circumstances because they tend to illustrate the character of the French people, since even their beggars affect an ambitious style of dress, and are in fact only distinguishable from men of rank and opulence by the air of misery and emaciation which poverty has imprinted on their features. At Paris it is scarcely possible to distinguish an actor or a public dancer from a minister of state; a cobbler or fuller might well pass for a senator, and a cook's wife for one of her majesty's principal maids of honor. The rage for dress which prevails in Paris was very unfavorable to my pretensions in point of gentility; for my garments, though sufficiently respectable, were by no means good enough to entitle me to rank among the class of people whom the Parisians style *honnêtes gens.* Whatever mortifications however I might suffer on this account, I was not at all inclined to comply with the fashion; for I had come to Paris, not to spend my money in dress or luxury, not, as the tradesmen of the faubourg St. Germain call it, *faire honneur à la nation,* —but to enjoy a more genial climate, till the season should permit me to return to my own country. I was content therefore to be called plain *monsieur,* while other foreigners, even down to the sons of Hamburgh or Lubeck merchants, were styled counts and barons. *Baron* is the lowest title of distinction given to a foreigner who can pay at Paris; he is so styled if his jacket is trimmed with silver, but if he has gold lace upon it, he immediately becomes *Monsieur le Comte.* This system of servile adulation serves as a powerful stimulus to young foreigners who come to Paris to dissipate their fortunes. There are always interested persons on the watch in the faubourg St. Germain, ready to conduct such foreigners to the most expensive hotels. Lackeys are recommended, who know well how to instruct their masters in the most succinct method of squandering their money. Dancing masters, fencing masters, and a tribe of hungry parasites, come forward, as the plot thickens; and when, in addition to all

these machinations, certain characters of the feminine gender lend their aid to the drama, and have succeeded in inveigling the youthful victim into their toils, the catastrophe of the tragedy is completed.

I determined to spend the winter at Paris, experience having convinced me that the air of this place was extremely favorable to my constitution. Besides, as I had amused myself by translating two of my comedies into the French language, some of my friends thought it worth while to try what success they would meet with on the French stage. But many obstacles occurred which prevented me from carrying my design into execution.

I should now bring this narrative to a conclusion, if it did not seem necessary to add something by way of finish, touching my character and manners; for as few persons of the order of professors have been more exposed to the criticism to their fellow-citizens, I may perhaps be allowed in my turn to draw my own portrait with the same pencil which has sketched the portraits of so many other men.

I was sensible from my earliest years, that nothing was so injurious to my health as indulgence in what are commonly termed pleasures. Accordingly I lived so sparingly and frugally, that though a boy in years, I seemed to my youthful companions an old man in habits. My extreme temperance and severity of manners often exposed me to raillery and facetiousness, which, as I was extremely choleric, I did not very patiently digest. Nevertheless, I made no alteration in my mode of living, but rather increased the severity of my regimen with my increasing years. Thus I was in the habit, when a boy, of drinking wine greatly diluted with water; but in manhood I abjured wine altogether, deeming it poison to my constitution. At length, not satisfied with my accustomed habits of frugality, I endeavored to limit myself to certain measured portions of meat and drink, imitating the example of certain persons who have declared this mathematical sort of diet to be wonderfully salutary. My friends attributed this resolution not to philosophy, but to absolute folly; they often expostulated with me upon what they considered a deplorable infatuation, and contended that I was to all practical purposes a dead

man; for to eat apart from the rest of the world, said they, is to live out of the pale of society; and what can be more absurd than to withdraw yourself from the society of mankind in the flower of your age? I replied, that sociality did not consist in eating and drinking; but this argument made not the slightest impression. Others, whose reasoning powers were of a denser description, assassinated me with commonplaces and texts of scripture which they did not understand, declaring that to weigh what you ate and drank, was nothing short of distrusting the providence of God, and that there were instances of persons who by thus protracting life had incurred the divine wrath.

I am apt to be too fastidious in my estimate of social qualities, as some men are too delicate in the choice of their food; for there is scarcely one man in a hundred whose society I can endure. One annoys me with his conversation, another with his gestures; in short, I have been compelled to retire with disgust from most of my acquaintances, and to seek consolation in solitude. As there is nothing I admire more than brevity, so there is no class of men I abominate more than those inveterate prosers who assassinate their victims with long dissertations and interminable narratives.

Of all the comedies I have written, *The Babbling Barber* pleases me most, because it exposes that pertinacious garrulity from which I have suffered so much torture. I have been censured for avoiding people of this description, by those who do not distinguish hostility from disgust; for you may be very much disgusted with an individual, against whom you entertain no sort of hostility.

There are some who consider my satires too severe; and I confess that many of them are written with much bitterness; but I attack vices, not individuals. I am aware, indeed, that this kind of writing is generally disliked, and that the office of the satirist is a most invidious one. We see flatterers loaded with honors, while men who have the honesty and the courage to blame where censure is called for, are denounced as bad citizens. Honest satirists are hated, because their medicine is disagreeable, though salutary; fawning sycophants are applauded, because the potions they administer are pleasant, though they confirm and exasperate the

disease. The former are the true friends, while they are deemed the enemies of mankind; the latter, while they appear to be the friends, are in reality the deadliest foes of the human race. Many persons are surprised that I should have devoted so much of my time to a species of composition which exposed me to so much ill-will; but I thought it better to do something even at this risk, than to be totally inactive; and deemed it more honorable to navigate among rocks, than to remain in port enjoying secure, but inglorious repose. It is, besides, difficult to stop short in a course in which we are carried forward by a sort of natural impulse, and to restrain, as it were, by fetters the impetuosity of genius, especially when we are urged by constant solicitations to produce something which may deserve to go down to posterity.

The general characteristic of my poems is pleasantry rather than bitterness; but there are some, I acknowledge, which deserve censure for their unmeasured severity. I have never been the first to assail any man, but I have been too acrimonious in chastising those who have given me provocation. I acknowledge this infirmity; I condemn this excess of ardor; for as a professed grammarian or musician is more blamable than another man, if he commit an error in the science he professes, so a philosopher deserves heavier censure, if he himself fail in those moral duties which he professes to inculcate. When my indignation is excited, I am unable to fix limits to it, and I am apt to run into the very errors which I condemn in others. Hence I should wish to publish a new edition of my poems, if it were only to expunge some of the invectives with which they abound; for although these invectives were extorted from me at the moment, I do not the less consider them as very material blemishes in my poetry. In vain have some philosophers taken anger under their protection, by calling it the whetstone of courage; in vain have they contended that no man can be an orator unless stimulated by anger, and that he who cannot feel the influence of this passion, can scarcely be called a human being. It would be sounder philosophy to say, that he can scarcely be called a human being, who surrenders himself to the influence of anger. It is a vice which I have labored to correct, but which

I have never been able entirely to subdue; for it is difficult to eradicate vices which time has rendered inveterate, as it is harder to cure a chronic weakness, than a sudden swelling of the eyes.

With regard to my literary pursuits, as I frequently labor under indisposition as well of mind as of body, it is from these that I derive my chief consolation. There is no calamity in this world which literature cannot, in some measure, contribute to alleviate; and I know not how I should have supported many of the misfortunes which have befallen me in life, if I could not have taken refuge in the haven of philosophy. My studies take a wide range, and I read select books on all subjects and sciences, except medicine and mathematics, which I do not understand. Formerly I devoted myself entirely to history and philosophy; afterwards I applied myself to the study of ancient jurisprudence; and to this succeeded my poetical studies, which I at length abandoned for my former pursuits. I might perhaps have attained some reputation in the learned world, if my literary ardor had not been checked by long and obstinate sickness. My name might perhaps have obtained some celebrity in foreign countries, if I had not written in the Danish language, which is confined within such narrow limits, that even in parts of Denmark I am scarcely known; but I am satisfied with having deserved well of my native language, and with having at any rate secured my name from oblivion among my countrymen. I am not yet old enough to sound a retreat from the field of literature; but though I shall leave poetry and pleasantry to those who have fewer years and a less exhausted imagination, I shall ever be ready, if my life be prolonged, to devote my faculties to the cause of literature, and to the benefit of my countrymen.

Copenhagen, December, 1726.

When[1] I abandoned the writing of poetry and satirical pieces, I resumed my former studies; for although, upon the reëstablishment of the Danish theater, I was often solicited by my friends to write some new plays, I adhered to the reso-

[1] This portion of the biography was written after an interval of eight years.

lution I had formed not to expose myself again to the perils from which I had recently escaped; and I could only be prevailed upon to make a few alterations in some of my plays which most required correction, and to give some new pieces, which I had long had in my possession, to the company of comedians. I returned once more to a work in which I had frequently been interrupted, namely, an account of the ecclesiastical and political state of Denmark and Sweden. While I was engaged in this work, certain lampoons were published by some anonymous authors against the East India company. The East India commerce had for many years been in a declining state, and the affairs of the company indeed seemed to be threatened with ruin, unless some means could be found of giving a fresh impulse to their operations. Under these circumstances the directors had issued proposals with a view of inducing merchants of the neighboring kingdoms to join their company. Some individuals, who looked with a jealous eye to the improvement of northern commerce, had denounced these proposals as absurd and visionary, in order to deter others from embarking their money in aid of the company's projects. I was requested to write an answer to the calumnies on the East India company; but as I knew little or nothing of mercantile matters, I declined the undertaking for a long time, until I was at last prevailed upon by the solicitations of my friends to make the attempt. I published a Latin dialogue, which was afterwards translated into Danish and German at the expense of the directors; and subsequently another dialogue, in which I took a more elaborate view of the subject, and which was so favorably received by the merchants of this city, that many of them thought the author ought to be recompensed with some extraordinary reward. But when the question of collecting subscriptions for that purpose came to be agitated in the Merchants' Exchange, some of them prudently suggested that as I had never been a mercenary writer, the simple expression of their thanks would probably be more grateful to my feelings; and they were right, for I was quite satisfied with a verbal acknowledgment of their gratitude.

I have now to advert to the fatal period, though I look back upon it with horror, when the greater part of this

noble city, with its principal churches and the whole university, was reduced to ashes. A more tragical, and, in some of its details, a more extraordinary and incredible event can scarcely be imagined. The fire commenced in the evening, in the western part of the city, and spread with great rapidity; in the first instance from the violence of the wind, and afterwards from the want of promptitude and activity in adopting the means of checking its progress; for the consternation occasioned by this unexpected calamity was so great, that for a long time the citizens remained inactive spectators of the wide-spreading conflagration. In general, although there are frequent fires every year in this city, they are got under with such dexterity that it seldom happens that an entire house is consumed. The minds of men seemed to be overwhelmed with astonishment and despair in proportion as they were wholly unprepared for such a calamity. Nothing was heard but the shrieks of women, the wailings of infants, and the sterner but not less mournful lamentations of men. There were not wanting those who added to the real horrors of the scene by false rumors of suborned incendiaries, which were readily believed and quickly circulated by the people. The firemen, and others whose duty it was to use the means of arresting the flames, partook of the general consternation. No pipes or buckets for the public service were to be found; terror and confusion reigned everywhere at a moment, when nothing but the utmost promptitude and presence of mind could have checked the progress of the calamity.

In the meantime the will of heaven was accomplished, and the devouring element did its work. The houses might have been supposed to be built of straw instead of stone; with such rapidity were buildings, public as well as private, consumed. One edifice after another was heard falling with a horrid crash to the ground. Those who suffered latest from the calamity sustained the greatest loss; for on the first sight of the fire many of the inhabitants, whose houses were consumed, saved a great portion of their property, their neighbors and friends having rendered them all the assistance and service in their power; but as the fire spread to the more remote parts of the city, every individual became anxious

to preserve his own property, and had no time to think of assisting his neighbor. Many of the inhabitants, when they saw the flames spreading in all directions, deserted the city in despair. At length, when the fire had raged for two whole days with such fury that almost the whole of the old town of Copenhagen, and a part of the new town, were reduced to ashes, the citizens, roused from their torpor, began to compensate for their inactivity by the incredible alacrity with which they exerted themselves to save what yet remained of the city. No rank, age, or sex, was exempted from a share of the labor; the king himself, with the hereditary prince, now our august sovereign, and all the nobles of the realm, encouraging and setting an example to the people.

It then became evident how much human ability can accomplish; how much the combined force of a vast number of hands can, with the assistance of God, effect; for in whatever quarter these exertions were made, the fire was soon checked. There were consumed in this dreadful conflagration, the churches of the Blessed Virgin, of the Holy Ghost, of St. Peter, and of St. Trinity, together with the public library of the university, the astronomical tower, with the globe and instruments of the great Tycho, the senate-house, the hospital, the whole university, with the public houses of the professors, the royal institution for the support of a hundred poor scholars, four splendid colleges, namely, the Royal, the Walckendorfian, the Medicean, and the Eleusianian, and many others of less note. The consistory, where the professors held their meetings, was the only place which remained untouched amidst the surrounding ruins.

It was not till the ravages of the flames had ceased, that men began to feel the full weight of the calamity, and the whole extent of their private losses. Some, whose wealth consisted chiefly of splendid personal possessions, were reduced at once from a state of affluence to abject poverty. They who had lately kept splendid equipages, were now seen among the meanest pedestrians, or compelled to solicit the charitable donations which they once ostentatiously bestowed. In this season of general distress I can boast that my fortitude remained unshaken; for, accustomed from my cradle to the greatest frugality, I was not so disturbed by reverses of for-

tune as those who live for no other object than the indulgence of their appetites.

I regretted the change of residence entailed upon me by the fire, much more than the loss of property I had sustained by it. I regretted the separation from my old friends, and the loss of my old study, where I had spent so many tranquil years among my books and papers; for to me nothing is more delightful than tranquillity, and a systematic regularity in my mode of living. With me everything was system; my business, my relaxation, my waking, my sleeping hours, my serious and my trifling pursuits, all were systematically arranged, and came round in regular succession. I spent some days in searching every corner of the part of the city saved from the flames, in order to find a convenient lodging; and I at last found a place in which, after making a few necessary arrangements, I was able in a short time to resume my former way of living.

The fire at Copenhagen is to be ranked among those signal calamities which constitute epochs in history; for this noble city, though in magnitude it is inferior to many others, yields to very few in importance; since whatever constitutes the strength, whatever contributes to the embellishment of the two kingdoms, is collected here as in a central point. The virtues of the late king were never more conspicuous than at this period of general calamity. It will never be forgotten with what solicitude he took measures to secure a supply of provisions in this season of distress; with what munificence he administered to the wants of individuals and of the people generally; with what readiness he discovered resources, affording the means of relief in every stage of our misfortunes; so that it seemed as if the calamity was reserved for this age, in order to afford a wider field of exertion to the beneficence of our sovereign.

For three weeks after the general conflagration scarcely a day passed without fires occurring in one part or other of the town. Hence fresh suspicions, and prophetic anticipations of farther calamity. Some men, staggered by what appeared to them a miraculous visitation, declared, with eyes fixed to the earth, that they expected nothing less than the destruction of the whole city; others, believing these fires

to be the work of incendiaries, called aloud for vengeance on their heads. For my part, I was not surprised at these accidents, for I had learned from experience that these partial fires were to be expected after a great conflagration. I remember that this happened twice at Bergen in Norway, where the inhabitants, who have frequently suffered from great fires, always prepare themselves after such a visitation for a succession of minor ones.

At length, when these disasters had ceased, and councils were held to consider the means of restoring the city, it became evident that our metropolis absolutely swarms with counselors. There were as many opinions as heads, as many architects as hands, as many senate-houses as dwellings. The whole city seemed to be transformed into a great political college; such a crop of politicians had risen from the ashes of the metropolis. There was not a sailor who did not go beyond his canvas, nor a cobbler who did not transgress his last. The dues, commonly called *priorities,* with which each house had been assessed, afforded an ample subject for discussion. Some thought the old bonds ought to be canceled, others that they should be retained, and some proposed a middle course. I say nothing of other topics which were discussed with equal earnestness. In this sea of councils, that I might not appear to be the only man in Denmark who had no opinion to offer, I composed some dissertations in which the questions generally discussed were examined with attention; and I had the satisfaction afterwards to hear, that they had been read more than once, and approved, by the king.

When the confusion produced by this great national calamity was at an end, I returned to my studies, and in the following winter completed a work in which I had long been engaged, and which was at length published in the year 1729, under the title of "A Description of the Kingdoms of Denmark and Norway," in a quarto volume containing 744 pages. This work was printed three times in the space of two years; for there were two Danish editions, and one in the German language. Stimulated by this success to greater efforts, I determined to write a history of Denmark from the origin of the kingdom down to the present times; a work hitherto unaccomplished, for all who had attempted this

difficult undertaking had soon abandoned it in despair. But as there is a pleasure in sailing among rocks, and I am in the habit of struggling with difficulties, the failure of my predecessors rather encouraged me to try how far I could proceed in surmounting obstacles which they had considered insuperable.

The studies to which a natural propensity urges me to devote myself, are frequently interrupted by the duties of my office of treasurer of the university, which I accepted in 1737. I am frequently obliged, in my official capacity, to consume whole days in constructing tables, auditing accounts, and writing letters of business. My farm also (for some years ago I purchased a farm in Zeeland, called Brorup) employs some portion of my time. The little affairs and occasional complaints of the peasants in my neighborhood serve rather to amuse than to distract my mind. I take as much care as possible not to be engaged in any of those litigations which frequently accompany the possession of landed property; and if any disputes arise, I endeavor to settle them by an amicable composition. But a spirit of concession may easily be carried too far in the country, and rustics will be sure to impose upon too acquiescing a disposition. Hence I observe a different demeanor in town and in the country; in town I live with philosophical simplicity and carelessness, but I put on my coat of mail when I go into the country; and when I turn my back on the custom-house at the western gate of the city, I lay aside my philosophy till my return. From the time I became a landholder, I have acted two characters; that of a philosopher in town, and of an armed soldier in the country. In town I repel my adversaries with argument, in the country with my buckler. I tried at first to allay animosities by courteous and gentle manners, and to restore peace by mild expostulations and entreaties; but, experience having taught me that rustics are only exasperated by this method of proceeding, I find Justinian a better guide than Seneca, and law a more formidable weapon than philosophy. My neighbors at first took me for a man entirely immersed in literary pursuits, and a fit subject therefore to be gulled and laughed at with impunity. Accordingly they proceeded to make experiments upon my temper and my

patience, by blandishments, threats, and all the other artifices in which rustics excel; but finding that I was tolerably armed against assaults of this kind, and that I was vigilantly attentive to my pecuniary interests, they thought proper to desist, and to leave me to the enjoyment of my repose. In spite of all the contrarieties which are incident to this mode of life, in spite of bad harvests, distempered cattle, and other disasters of this kind, there are many pleasures to counterbalance them; and, upon the whole, I can conceive nothing more delightful, more honorable, or more worthy of a philosopher, than agricultural pursuits; the simple manners and unrestrained conversation of the peasantry afford me more entertainment, and richer materials for reflection, than the studied discourses of philosophers. When I took possession of my farm, it was in a state of complete desolation; and now everything around me is flourishing. I have no slight satisfaction therefore in comparing its present with its former state; I rejoice that I have in some measure discharged the duty of a good citizen; that while so many farms have been suffered to go to decay, I have the merit of restoring and creating, where others have dilapidated and destroyed; and that I have improved the condition of the peasantry, who formerly suffered under the most galling oppression.

I begin to be sensible of some of the infirmities which commonly accompany old age. The fearlessness which once distinguished my character has been succeeded by timidity, and my love of society by a fondness for solitude. Cheerfulness has given place to austerity, as wrinkles have furrowed the smoothness of my brow. The amusements in which I formerly delighted, have now lost much of their attraction; passionately fond as I once was of music, I now frequently hear the finest concerts with indifference; and, what is an infallible mark of the approach of old age, I take more pleasure in trifling than in learned conversation. Thus, I yawn if anybody talks to me of affairs of great importance, such as the war between the Turks and the Persians, the triple alliance, the pragmatic sanction, or the election of an emperor or a pope; while I take a lively interest in trifling gossip about the quarrels of my neighbors, births, christenings, weddings, and such like occurrences. Moreover, my

friends remark, as an unquestionable indication of my senility, that I am much affected by unfavorable intelligence of any kind, such as loss of money, threats on the part of my enemies, etc., and that every event out of the ordinary course makes me tremble as if I beheld a comet. In fact, many persons have reproached me with this weakness in the days of my youth and manhood, and have concluded from it that I was but a mere nominal philosopher. I confess, indeed, that I have never been a practical philosopher; and I have on more than one occasion candidly declared, that I am subject to impulses of passion, perturbation of mind, and other failings which I have never been able to overcome. I am not ignorant that the pangs of grief, and the shafts of fortune, may be driven away and despised by the aid of philosophy; and I frequently read therefore the works of philosophers, in which I find an abundance of arguments and illustrations, but I am nevertheless unable to make my philosophy available in controlling the sudden impulses of nature. Whatever philosophers may say to the contrary, such impulses are not under our control, and it is idle to talk of eradicating human feelings; for man is not formed of marble or hewn out of oak. I am frequently attacked by sudden fits of passion, grief, or fear, which subside as soon as my blood cools, and my spirits are restored to a just equilibrium. Paroxysms of passion cannot be checked by reading Cicero or Seneca; and indeed they are rather to be regarded as salutary outlets for our ill-humors, which are thus prevented from rankling and corrupting the moral system. When reason and reflection resume their sway, I laugh at my folly; and it is at such junctures that philosophy may be beneficially called to our aid, for it strengthens the mind against future assaults, and enables us, if not wholly to overcome our passions, to guard against being wholly subdued by them. Some of my failings, which I have noticed in a former part of this work, have yielded to the influence of time, while others have sprung up in their place; so that the destruction of one fault seems to have been the generation of another. In most essential respects, however, my good and bad qualities have remained unaltered.

I believe I have now given a candid and unreserved ac-

count of my life, my manners, my studies, my faults, and—if I have any—my virtues. If any of my readers have found me too prolix, they must pardon me on the score of my advanced age, which is naturally loquacious. There are, no doubt, many things which deserve to be censured in these pages, but I trust that there is also something which deserves to be approved. It is now time that I should sound a retreat, and devote the remaining portion of existence which may be allotted to me, to the care of my body and the amendment of my life. The latter is an obligation which I conceive to be imperative, as I may consider myself on the eve of taking a journey to another world; and the former is a duty which should not be neglected, for in old age the vigor of the body is soon destroyed, if oil be not frequently poured into the lamp.

END OF HOLBERG'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

MOHAMMED ALI HAZIN

MOHAMMED ALI HAZIN

THE LEARNED PERSIAN POET, PATRIOT AND WANDERER

1692-1779

(INTRODUCTORY NOTE)

Always, to the Western mind, the Orient speaks of Romance and Adventure. And of all the countries of Asia, none has a stronger appeal than Persia, both because of its history and culture and because of that rich gorgeousness which is the soul of the East. The memoirs of the Sheik or Chieftain Ali Hazin are replete with first-hand accounts of historical incidents and serve as an excellent example of Persian cultured thought. For the Sheik was not only of the nobility and ruling class in Persia, but was considered the most learned and gifted man of letters in a country where a devotion to the fine arts, and especially to poetry, is a national passion.

Ali Hazin's memoirs are liberally interspersed with poetic verses; almost he thought in poetry. He produced innumerable sonnets and many volumes of essays and elegies. Although as a race, the Persians are exceedingly exclusive and intolerant of changes or beliefs other than their own, the Sheik can be honestly termed broad-minded. He recognizes worth wherever found; and he consistently praises when praise is due.

It was the custom for the Persian youths to travel from town to town in the pursuit of learning. They attended lectures at all the universities they could discover, and sought out the great scholars in their own homes, even pursuing those who sought to dwell in retirement. This constant travel brought Ali Hazin into contact with all phases of Persian life and thought, while he was still in the formative period of youth. In after life, he was driven from place to place by political uprisings, and eventually fled to India, where he settled. He was barred from ever returning home, because he had written some satiric verses mocking and defying the Afghan conqueror Nadir Shah, who had become master of Persia. Thus he finished his long life as a political exile.

He wrote his "book," or autobiography, in 1742. Of the old age of sickness and solitude which still remained to him, we know nothing. Even the date of his death is disputed. His book alone speaks for him.

It is a vivid commentary on places, on life and on the human heart, illumined by his keenly trained intellect and charitable philosophy. Although his mode of thought and expression is strictly and fascinatingly Oriental, the appeal of his narrative is world-wide.

THE BOOK OF MOHAMMED ALI HAZIN

In the name of God, the merciful and commiserating, whose help we implore,

Whom we praise, whose fear we pray him to imbue us with, holding steadily by the most firm hold *of his religion,* and offering up our prayers for our Lord, his Elect, *Mohammed,* and his family, the standards of direction.

Where is our power of speech, *O God!* for the utterance of thy encomium?
How can we describe the perfection of thy greatness?
Poor and empty-handed, we are destitute of means:
The soul alone, which *thou* hast given us, can we offer in redemption of our duties.

Whereas the gain of experience is the choicest fruit and most valuable acquisition, that mankind can obtain on the stage of the creation; and a multitude hence of learned men, fully sensible of the value of their time, have consumed a portion of their lives in the composition of books of history, and in the accurate description of the turns both of good and bad conduct, of prosperous and adverse fortune: and whereas from the revision of events and incidents, as they fall to the lot of the various orders of men in the diversity of their degrees, an infinite number of benefits may be reaped, I have been induced to think, after an attentive and true observation of a life, which I have spent in wandering and perplexity, that the chronicle of my days may not be void of interest and warning example to the diligent inspector. In the narration of other men's circumstances and adventures, the historian frequently, from various causes, may fall into doubt and confusion: but there is no danger of either, when he confines himself to the explanation of his own affairs. I was therefore desirous, as far back as the rapidity of each event, which has passed over me, and the sudden change of the cir-

cumstances, which surrounded me, have left any impression on my memory, to describe the traces of my recollections with compendious brevity, in such manner, that neither the length of my discourse, nor any vain embellishments of style, may entail weariness or impatience on the judicious inquirer; but that in the description may be found both a memorial of my history for my existing friends, and a code of examples for successive agents. It is my hope from the kindness of those who shall look into it, that they will do so with tenderness and mercy, and that they will grant their aid in prayer for the forgiveness of the sins of the poor and unfortunate writer. "Lord, favor us from thy presence with mercy, and afford us thy saving guide in our affairs."

I

I, A suppliant to the giver of all good gifts, Mohammed, called Ali, am the son of Abo Talib, son of Abd Allah, son of Jemal Eddin Ali, son of Ata Allah, son of Ismail, son of Is-hac, son of Nor Eddin, son of Mohammed, son of Shehab Eddin, son of Ali, son of Ali, son of Yacob, son of Abd Elwahid, son of Shems Eddin Mohammed, son of Ahmed, son of Mohammed, son of Jemal Eddin Ali, son of the most illustrious Sheik, and model of the learned, Taj Eddin Ibrahim, known by the title of the Gilan hermit—God sanctify their souls, and close in me their race with the best of seals! My grandfather, *Sheik Jemal Eddin,* son of Ata Allah, was one of the most distinguished scholars of his time. Ahmed Khan, king of Gilan, out of regard for his ability, did his utmost to honor him, and took several degrees of science at his instruction. Going to the royal residence of Cazvin, my grandfather gained access to the Sheik Jalil Beha Eddin Mohammed of Aumul, (God have mercy on his soul!) and formed a perfect intimacy with him; so that in his *Elucidation of the Miracle of the Mearaj,* or *Ascent of the Prophet,* one of my grandfather's sublimest investigations, he has taken occasion in the opening of that treatise to mention his companionship with the holy Sheik. Having completed his studies under the Lord of Investigators, Amir Fakhr Eddin of Samak of Asterabad, he felt an inclination to the composition of poetry, and assumed the poetical surname of

Wahdat, or Unity. In truth his verses are the production of a true lover of the muses, and are incomparable for the chastity and elegance of their composition.

His offspring was limited to one son, *Sheik Abd Allah,* who having acquired the various sciences from his father, became endowed with a character of piety and of abstinence from worldly pleasures. Content with but a small part of the income and possessions he inherited, the remainder he expended on his friends and the necessitous. By him were left three sons, Sheik Ata Allah, Sheik Abo Talib, and Sheik Ibrahim. The eldest of the three, *Sheik Ata Allah,* who ranked as the first of the learned men of that country in jurisprudence and sacred history, and was in a high degree eminent for his devotion and his frequency in divine worship, died at an advanced age without children. *Sheik Ibrahim,* the youngest of the brothers and a clever man in business, was possessed of high parts and an acute genius. Having taken the usual degrees of science, he rose to the first rank of his contemporaries. He wrote exceeding well in seven different forms of penmanship, and imitated the writing of the masters in the art with such nicety, that it was difficult to distinguish between the copy and the original. Having written out the *Sacred Volume* (Alcoran) and the *Sahifah Kamilah,* with interpretations, he sent them to my father in Ispahan, and from him I received them as a present. The fine writers of the greatest reputation in that city were much benefited by the sight of them. In epistolary composition and belles-lettres his ability was perfect. His productions in this department are celebrated, and are copied into the portfolios of the connoisseurs.

I was yet in my childhood, when arriving with my father at Lahijan I had the happiness to enjoy the company of my estimable uncle; and in truth, whether for excellence of qualities, or purity of morals; cheerfulness of temper, or brilliancy of conversation, I have, to the present day, seen few to compare with him. Ten years before my revered father he passed to the divine mercy in Lahijan, leaving a son named Sheik Mofid, and two daughters. After a little time the son also died in the bud of youth.

II

My father, at the age of twenty, having obtained a knowledge of most of the objects of science under the learned Mawla (Judge) Molla Hasan, Sheik Al Islam (Chief Judge) of Gilan, was seized with a desire to visit the learned men of Irak, and repaired to Ispahan. Here, in the college of that master of the learned, Aga Hossein of Khonsar, on whom be mercy! the memory of whose excellences and virtues is so well known that it requires no revelation, he applied to his studies; and having become a proficient in mathematics under the tuition of the Ptolemy of his age, the learned Mawla Mohammed Rafia, known by the title of Rafiai Yezdi, he advanced so deeply in reading and disputation, as but few students have the facility of doing, and till the end of his life continued steadily in the same course. A numerous crowd of his contemporaries arrived at a high degree of knowledge by the blessing of his instruction. In his library were more than five thousand volumes, and not a single book of science passed under his eye, which he did not correct and verify from beginning to end, illustrating the greatest part of them with marginal notes. He used to say, that repeatedly in a day and a night he would pen a thousand couplets and more. His writing was exceeding beautiful and clear. I have heard him say, that his father was still living, when he went to Ispahan, and fearing he should fix his abode in that city he sent him no more money than was sufficient for his necessary expenditure, and that at different times in the course of the year, so that he had not the means which he wanted for the purchase of books, and copied many of them himself. At his father's death, which occurred not long after, he banished all thoughts of returning to Lahijan, and having bought a house at Ispahan, he added to its size and conveniences. Setting out for Hijaz by the way of Syria, he had the honor to make his procession round the holy House of God (the temple of Mecca). On his journey homewards through Bagdad he spent some time in visiting the holy sepulchers of Irak. Returned to Ispahan, he was favored with the friendship and intimacy of one of the native inhabitants of that town, Hajji Inayat Allah, a re-

ligious and most excellent man, who gave him his daughter in marriage. His offspring was limited to four sons, the eldest of whom is this humble individual. Of my three brothers one died in his infancy; the other two in the vigor of their youth.

Should I enter into a description of the admirable qualities, the perfect morals, the sublimity of mind and disposition, the strength of genius, and the accomplishment of the wisdom and knowledge of my venerable father, my discourse would be drawn to prolixity, and I might be exposed not improbably to the charge of exaggeration and insincerity. Though the length of his life was passed in disputation and instruction, he ever most cautiously shunned the smallest literary contention, holding the habit in abhorrence; and I have never seen any learned man, that was equal to him in fairness of exposition and florid openness of temper. The sublimity of his soul was such, that in the sight of his intention the world was not of the value of a handful of dust. He never turned his thoughts to the acquisition of wealth or worldly rank, though their full possession was a matter of facility even to the negligent pursuit of the humblest of his pupils. In his temperament there was no anxiety for aggrandizement or bodily ease. I have sometimes heard him say, that the morsel of lawful bread, which the supplier of sustenance to his servants had apportioned to his lot, sufficed for him, and that even should the motive for worldly gain be the support of others and its distribution to the needy, yet it is seldom if ever obtained without debasing a believing soul. According to him, the height of generosity was to renounce and turn away the eyes from every thing, that is in the hands of other men. He never showed any eagerness for the friendship of the lords of fortune; but rather maintained a haughty deportment towards the princes and great men in power, who were united to him in affection and treated him with the utmost attention to politeness.

In the year one thousand one hundred and twenty-seven of the Hejra, (A. D. 1715) at the age of nine-and-sixty, his maladies became violent, and weakness prevailed over him. On the morning of the day, in the forenoon of which he died, sending for me, he committed to me the charge of his survivors, and recommended them to my kindness and

beneficence. *In like manner as you have given satisfaction to me,* said my father, *may God be satisfied with you. My last commandment to you is this, that, however much the postures of the world be unsuited to the eye of your desire, or the times fall discordant on your ear, you never resign your will to meanness, nor consent to follow in the tail of slavish obedience. This short life is not worth such debasement. If you have the choice, make no longer stay in Ispahan. It were meet, that some one of our race should survive.* At that time I did not comprehend this part of his address, nor till after some years, when the disturbance and ruin of Ispahan took place. He added: *On holy days and nights, as far as your means will allow you, and you have the facility of doing, forget me not.*[1] A few hours afterwards, he departed to the world of perpetuity, and was interred in the cemetery called Mazār. Baba Rukn Eddin, close to the tomb of the learned divine Mawlana Hasan of Gilan, God pour upon him the streams of his mercy and forgiveness, and place him an inhabitant of the gardens of paradise! I here transcribe a few couplets of an elegy which I wrote at his decease:

The Sphere, Bright Truth! is deprived by thy death of its purity:
Its transparent quality no longer remains to the empty glass.
Adorner of the meadow of life! thy cherishing hand is no sooner withdrawn from me,
Than I am become, like the willow of Majnoon, a parable for the distracted mourner.
Thou art departed in the fullness of age, and I through grief for thee am old;
But my woe bears me back every moment to the remembrance of my infancy *fostered by thy care.*
Whilst I beheld thee, Throne of Sublimity! towering unhidden on the earth,
I knew not that the humble soil could close up a high mountain.

[1] The meaning of this injunction to our author was, that as far as his means enabled him, he should fulfill the Mohammedan rite of bestowing alms on certain festivals for the soul of his father. This pious custom, however destitute of profit to the departed spirit of the parent, is replete with benefit to the famished bodies of the poor, to whom the alms on such occasions are distributed; and proves by its cordial observance the filial affection of the survivor.

Since thou hast broken asunder the bands of the bodily volume,
There remains in the world no model for the incomparable.
From a body of inward fire I have a heart inflated with sighs;
My mind no longer yields to the task of composing empty verses.

III

THE summary of my own history and circumstances is as follows: My birth happened on Monday the twenty-seventh of Rabia Elakhir, in the year one thousand one hundred and three of the Hejra (A. D. 1692) in the royal residence of Ispahan, and I still remember some things which passed whilst I was yet at my mother's breast. When I came to the fourth year of my age, I was appointed to instruction by my father. At that time the eminent Mawla, *Molla Shah Mohammed* of Shiraz, on whom be mercy! who was one of the most learned men of his contemporaries, arrived at Ispahan; and one day that he was a guest at my father's house, they set me before him for the auspicious commencement of my education under his blessed tuition. The Mawla, after the Bismillah, made me repeat three times the following verses: *Lord, expand my breast, and lighten my work, and loose the knot from my tongue, that they may understand my speech.* Then he read the Fatiha and caressed me. In two years' time I was capable of plain reading and writing, and took an extraordinary inclination to study. No occupation was more desirable to me than to read and write, and I perused many Persian books both in prose and verse. The master, who taught me, was surprised at my acutencss and alacrity, and by his approbation increased my ardor still more. From poetry my well adjusted mind received great delight, and I was much given to compose verses, but concealed this circumstance for some time. At length my master discovered it, and forbad me this pursuit. My father also did all in his power to divert me from it. Being unable however at once to change my turn of mind, I wrote whatever occurred to me, and kept it secret.

When I was eight years of age, my father ordered me to be instructed in the proper reading of the Coran, which

I studied two years under the Mawla, *Melek Hossein,* a reader of Ispahan, and an excellent man, who in that art was distinguished among his contemporaries; and having perused some treatises on the subject, and completed this course of study, I was fitted to delight the ear with the beauty of my recitation. My learned father, out of the great desire he had for my improvement, gave me some instruction himself, and I read with him. My father also in my tender years conducted me to the learned in truth and science, the model of generous seniors, *Sheik Khalil Allah* of Talcan, God sanctify his soul! who at that time was one of the retired hermits of that country, and entreated him to instruct and guide me. I attended him near three years, and though I read no particular book with him, yet every day he would give me a proposition or question on paper written with his own hand, and instruct me upon it: but it did not appear from what book the passage was taken. On the correction and sanctification of my defective soul he bestowed so much attention and diligence, that my tongue is unequal to their expression, and my heart incapable of gratitude for the benefits and obligations conferred on me by that truly ingenious man. Indeed were not my ability deficient, it would ever be employed in carrying my blessings upon the instructions and exhortations of that great man to the height, which they merit. He was one of the greatest and most learned doctors, and a congregator of sciences both manifest and secret. I will merely add, that being himself possessed of an adapted genius, and taking occasional delight in composing verses, he soon perceived my inclination to poetry, and so far from forbidding or opposing it, he sometimes commanded me to recite any thing that I had composed; and from his jewel-dropping mouth was uttered my dedication to the Muses by the title of *Hazin.*

The Almighty bestowed a blessing and an ease of heart on this season of my life, and notwithstanding the multiplicity of my occupations, still my leisure was not disagreeably straitened; but so restless and so much on the alert was I held by my love of disputation and reading, that I had no regard for sensual pleasures. Repeatedly, by my excessive lucubrations at night, the concern of my parents was excited.

They exhorted and entreated me to go to rest, but in vain. What I did not learn at lecture I read in private, and committing it to memory I used to ask my father the difficult passages. I had nevertheless an abundant affection for the worship and service of God, and took wonderful delight therein, keeping with lively devotion the holy days and nights and seasons, and being assiduous in the repetition of the appointed invocations. Not many even of the supererogatory acts of devotion and practical traditions were neglected by me; and so bright was the ray of soft warmth in my heart, and so full the gay expansion of my bosom, that it is impossible for me to describe my state, as it then was. What I here say is by privilege of the proverb: *The commemoration of former blessings is the possession of the wretched.* Alas, alas! how little I thought that my circumstances would draw to this destitution, and deadness of heart, and cold faintness, to which they are now declined; or that it would become necessary to adapt my palate to all this bitterness, and heart-melting poison of disappointment.

Whilst I breathed in the silent night of repose, a lotion assailed me
From the serpent, in whose teeth is a penetrating poison.

My boundless grief, and the affliction that wounds my soul, is this, that for the few breaths of life, which may remain to me, there is no hope of better-being, nor of raising up the gale of my desire.

Where is the season of spring, that I may satiate my desire of wine?
That, like the rose-bush, I may bring out the cup from my patched habit.

How truly spoke the Commander of the Faithful (Ali), upon whom be the salutation of peace! when he said: *Be cautious in the establishment of your prosperity, for it is not every thing which is fugitive, that ever returns.*

Notwithstanding my devotedness to study, and the variety of my daily occupations, I was fond of frequenting the society of clever and ingenious men, and mixed in a company of that class. One day in my father's house, a number of

clever men were assembled together, and I also was desired to join them. In the midst of their discourse on various topics, one of them recited this couplet of Molla Mohtashim of Kashan:

O thou, in whose toil is the form of the tall of stature!
Grace being a creation of thy lofty figure!

Of which when some of the company had expressed their entire approbation, my father said: *I have seen the Divan of Mohtashim, and he is a copious and masterly poet: but his style is without salt, and he has not that degree of sweetness, which might atone for it, though saltness in style is more pungent and always perhaps more agreeable to the taste than sweetness; as may appear from this his opening verse. The second hemistich only is right: the first is not conformable to nature; for to say* the form is fallen into a toil *is absurd. Were the word* "form" *away, and you said,* "O thou in whose toil are the tall of stature!" *the sentence would be proper and agreeable.* The company acknowledged, what he said, as true. Then turning to me: *I know,* said he, *that you have not yet abandoned poetry. If you can compose us a couplet in the same kind of ode, do so.* At that instant, an opening verse came into my mind, and as his look again fell upon me, he comprehended, that I had thought of something, and he said: *If you have composed any thing, recite it, and do not be ashamed.* I said aloud this beginning of an ode:

The ringlet of thy high curling lock draws the chase from the sacred enclosure:
Alas the tyranny of thy dark musky noose!

The company moved from their places, and burst into applause. Whilst they were uttering their commendations, another couplet came into my mind, and I repeated:

From thy coming thither, the streets, where dwell thy lovers, are made the envy of Mount Sinai:
Sit down, that the bruised particles of our souls may be burnt for thee, as a perfume against malignancy.

Upon this my learned father also praised me, and said, that what he had denied to be in the poetry of Molla Mohtashim, was found in this couplet. I recited another:

My heart's affair through love is become difficult, and I am pleased:
Perhaps it may prove agreeable to your difficultly pleased mind.

In the same way, after a little consideration, I composed another couplet, and went on, till I had recited a complete ode. The company observed, that they had thought no one capable, at the present day, of composing verses in this unpremeditated manner, and my father said, *Now, I give you leave to cultivate the Muses, but not to such excess, as to waste your time:* and made me a present of his own pen-case to write down this ode.

Shortly afterwards a severe accident occurred to me, which produced a languid intermission in my affairs. It was the fullness of spring and delightful weather, when going out one day with a number of friends into the country, I put my horse to its speed, and the animal fell in its course. My right arm was fractured, and did not heal in less than a year, though I was attended and dressed by skillful surgeons. I suffered bitter affliction, and though after some time the pain ceased, still my arm was useless, and a mere burden to my neck. Being habituated to the use of the pen, I took it in my left hand, and managed to write. During this period of distress and sorrow, I composed a great number of verses. One of these poems was a Mesnavi called *Saki Namah*, the beginning of which was thus:

> Thou alone, O God! art acquainted with secrets;
> The pure-intentioned have their bliss from thee.
> For me, inebriation and a corner in a wine-house:
> For my liberty, the line of a cup.

The length of the poem was about one thousand couplets, and its composition elaborate and fervid. Thus I passed my time, till the Almighty granted me a recovery from disease and anguish, and my scattered senses were collected.

IV

My father, out of a longing to see his brothers and relations, was seized with a desire of going to Lahijan, and, taking me with him, he set out in that direction. At every stage where

we alighted, I read with my father the Theological Part of the *Sharh Tajrid,* and the *Zubdat Olosol.*

On our arrival at Lahijan we alighted at the ancient mansions of our family, and I visited my highly respectable uncle and all the men of learning, rank, and ability in that country. I passed little short of a year there, and enjoyed perfect calmness and tranquillity of mind. My father employed himself in conference and disputation, and I attended his class as one of his pupils. By his direction, I studied under my uncle the Treatise called *Khulâsat Olhisâb.* At times, going for a walk and recreation to the charming spots in the neighborhood of the town, I cast my delighted eye over heart-attracting landscapes; then reverted with cheerfulness to the sweet society around me.

After my father had seen his friends and made his arrangements regarding the lands of his hereditary possessions, he set forth on his return to Ispahan, and I had the honor to accompany him. Along the road he gave me instruction in a treatise on the *Demonstration of the Heavens,* and in an epitome or two on Astronomy. Arrived at Ispahan, I resumed with fresh ardor and increased diligence my accustomed pursuits of conferences and disputations, and passed my time in tranquillity and contentment.

At this time, I took an inclination to the study of Medicine, and learnt a portion of the *Kolliat* of the *Canon,* making myself acquainted with some of the objects of that science, under the Galen of the age, the celebrated Physician, *Mirza Mesih,* who was a man of accomplished skill in medicine, and devoted his whole time to the cure of diseases, and the instruction of most of the medical practitioners in the city. One night I sat up to read, and, in the morning early, my learned father, God have mercy on his soul! came near, and took a seat by me. I was surrounded and busied with books of medicine. Having asked me, and being satisfied, that I was employed on that science, he forbad me to pay so much attention to it, or to enter so deeply into it. *If a person,* said he, *has confidence, that he shall have leisure to obtain what he seeks, his search is right: but, to you, whence can such belief and confidence in length of life come? I see that your mind is devouring and consuming your body, as a*

sharp sword eats its scabbard. Such a person cannot be long-lived. Labor, then, in what is most important. So saying he caressed me, and having said a prayer for me, he arose.

V

I NOW felt a desire to inform myself on the questions and truths of the different religions, and concerning the followers of the various sects. I became intimate with the doctors of the order of Christians, and their *padres,* who were in a numerous body at Ispahan, and tried and measured the quantity of knowledge of each of them. One held pre-eminence among them, and they called him the Caliph Avanus. He knew Arabic and Persian well, and was versed in Logic, Astronomy, and Geometry. Some Mahometan books had undergone his perusal, and he had a great wish to investigate several of their questions and propositions: but from fear, and through the utter disrespect of the Moslem doctors for his order, he had been unable to attain his object. He esteemed my society a great acquisition, and when, after a while, he had become acquainted with my character and just discretion, he showed me great sincerity and friendship. From him I learnt the Gospel, and obtaining access to the commentaries upon it, I thoroughly investigated their articles of faith, and the principles of their religion, and read a great number of their books. He also, sometimes, asked information from me, and I repeatedly by various arguments proved to him the truth of the Mahometan faith. Not having a word to say in reply, he stood convinced of the error of his way, but he died without having openly received the grace of being directed to the straight road of salvation.

Among the Jewish inhabitants of Ispahan, who, as they believe, have since the time of Moses been dwellers in that town, there was one named Shoaib, the most learned of his brethren. I gained his confidence, and took him to my house. I learnt from him the Bible, had the interpretation of it written for me, and informed myself of the truth of all that they maintain. But I found that order of men totally destitute of knowledge and learning, and entire strangers to thought and discernment. Their stupidity, and obduracy in ignorance, are without end, or measure.

I acted in the same way with regard to the varieties of the Mahometan belief. I read the books of every sect, and considered what each had to say, discreetly and anxiously remarking on their arguments. Wherever I found any person belonging to any sect, who was knowingly attached to his own religious opinions, I frequented his society, and made myself acquainted with his views and discourses. In this way, I had God knows how much conversation with the followers of different opinions.

In the midst of these occupations, I gave lectures on the ordinary classic books, and wrote commentaries and appendixes on them. As occasion permitted, I composed separate treatises on my different investigations, and showing most of them, first, to the skillful in each art, I obtained perfect confidence in their correctness, as they severally met with approbation. By the blessing of the divine assistance, it has never yet happened, that any infirmity or erroneousness has appeared in any passage of my compositions; and from God is all aid and preservation from error.

VI

In those days, one of the accidents and strange events that befell me, was the attraction of a beauty, and the allurement of an accomplished lady, which drove my heart to distraction.

She showed me a sample of the beauty of my friend (God):
But though the two worlds should be confused, I have no intent to make alarm, or complaint.

An indescribable perplexity fell amidst the inmost recesses, and secret feelings, of my nervous frame, and from my unsettled heart tumult and disturbance arose.

The morning-lecture, I have laid at the threshold of the wine-house;
The times of prayer, I have devoted to the path towards my beloved.
Fire might be spread over the harvest of a hundred sage devotees,
From this burn-spot that I have had set on my maddened soul.

The frantic nightingale of my heart began in a loud tone to sing this note:

I say it openly, and am happy in what I say;
I am love's slave, and free, else, of both worlds.
There is nothing on the tables of my heart, but the Alif of my beloved's stature;
What can I do? my master taught me no other letter.

The most extraordinary circumstance was, that the vanquished and down-fallen at the feet of that princess of the fair, exceeded all number and description; and I was ever repeating this couplet:

Sweet rose! not alone am I am object of wonder to the gazing crowd;
Hundreds of thy distracted lovers gather crowds by their frantic gestures.

One night I went to a garden with a company of agreeable companions, and true friends. Among them was Mawlana Ali Kosâri of Ispahan, a celebrated penman, who was a store of perfections, both apparent and ideal, and a phœnix of the age; in beauty of person, and skill of sweet singing, a rival of the miraculous David. At midnight, having raised his voice in tune, he first began to sing the following couplet:

To-night come to me, Love! that in the orchard we may fill a glass;
Thou shalt outvie the rose and torch-light, I the moth and nightingale.

My poor inflamed heart fell into such a state, that it would be impossible to describe it. A thousand times, my elemental body must have been abandoned by its sovereign spirit. Till morning dawned, his melody still compassed this same couplet. He sang, and was silent; again, after a short pause, he struck up anew the same modulation.

Some time afterwards, a severe affliction befell me. One night, a pain arose in my joints, and increasing violently towards morning, it subdued all the limbs in my body, so that I was incapable of the smallest motion. A number of medical men came to cure me, and tried sudorifics, and potions

of Chinese wood: but, amid the attacks of anguish and sorrow to which my mind was a prey, the success of this treatment was difficult. One of the practitioners, Mirza Sherif, son and heir of the celebrated doctor Jelal Eddin, who was a most ingenious physician, and adorned with the jewels of knowledge and integrity, undertook to cure me by a different process, and attended me two or three days; upon which, the physician himself was seized with the same complaint, and took to his bed. In these circumstances I composed an ode, the beginning of which was thus:

For the crime of love if thou hast killed me, I am grateful for the kindness:
But, Lord! what is the fault of the innocent hermit? I am perplexed to understand it.

This is from the same ode:

In the School of Being, the tablet of the heart is the Book of Love:
Thou hast done well, to draw the stroke of obliteration on the line of my body.

At the end of two months, Almighty God granted me a recovery from this chronic disease, and I returned to my occupation of teaching and learning.

VII

Afterwards, on occasion of the departure of some persons among my friends and acquaintances, who were free to follow their inclinations, towards the Court of Excellence, Shiraz, I also was seized with a desire to visit that country; and after asking leave of my parents, I set out in that direction. On my arrival in that town, I was admitted to the society of its eminent chiefs, and clever men, and I took so great a liking to the place, that, as long as I stayed there, my time was spent most agreeably.

One day, I was sitting in one of the noble houses of that city, when a strange circumstance came before my view. I saw a man going on all fours, and naked, with a knife in each hand, which he struck with all his might against his body. His blood was flowing from numberless mortal wounds,

which he had inflicted on his trunk, and head, and face. In this way he continued; and at every wound that he struck himself, he appeared to feel satisfaction and delight: but he said not a word. I asked what his circumstances were, and was told, that his name was Ismail, and that he had fallen in love with a person, who had since died. On being informed of the melancholy event, he fainted away, and when he came to himself again, went distracted with madness. He tore the clothes off his body, and seized the knives; and had now been some days in this condition. I said, Why do they not take the knives from him? They replied, His strength is so great, that it is most difficult to take the knives out of his hands. A number of persons threw him down, and attempted to seize them; but he made supplications, and showed such a disposition and feeling, that the persons said, If we take away his knives, he will expire the same instant. They therefore abandoned him to himself. The most wonderful circumstance was, that any wound, which he inflicted on himself in the morning, if he refrained from again striking the same spot, would by evening be perfectly healed. On subsequent inquiry concerning him I was told, that three days afterwards, having crawled out of the city, he struck a knife into his side, which cut his entrails. He fell, and yielded up his soul.

VIII

Afterwards, from Shiraz I removed to a place called *Beiza of Fars,* where, at the present time, no city is remaining; but the habitation consists of many populous villages. Here the sweetness of the air and water is remarkable, and the pleasant situations and delightful hunting-grounds are numerous. I stayed a long time in these borders; where was residing the excellent, polite, noble, magnificent, and ingenious supporter of religion, Seyyid *Ali Khan,* son of Seyyid Nizâm Eddin Ahmed Hoseini, God have mercy on his soul! He was one of the nephews of the master of mankind, Mir Inâyat Addin Mansor Shirâzi, and an excellent collector of knowledge, particularly in the classics, wherein he was the first of his time. He composed Arabic verse with becoming elegance and force, and has a Divan of his own. In weigh-

ing the subtilties of Arabic poetry, I have not seen his equal. Of his compositions, one is An Extensive Commentary on the Sahifah Kamilah; another a book called Badiaiah, etc. He was high-minded in the extreme, of most laudable qualities, and, in truth, a prodigy of his age. From Mecca the Revered he came to Ispahan, and was much respected by the late Sultan, who had the intention of honoring him with the dignity of Sadr Os Sodôr. But the aspirers to that office exerted their endeavors, and used every influence against him. The lofty mind of the noble Seyyid scorned the intrigues of world-seeking men, and, retreating to Shiraz and Beiza, he chose retirement until the hour that he repaired to the mercy of God. For some days I enjoyed the benefit of his society; and he showed perfect friendship and affection towards me.

Hajji *Nizam Addin Ali Ansari Ispahani* was also dwelling in that place. He came to me, and lectured with me on The Sharh Tajrid, and The Istibsar Hadis. A great intimacy arose between us; and he was most praise-worthy in his manners, of high sentiments, detached from the world, and acquainted with its nature and pursuits. Here I wrote Scholia on The Omôr Aamah of The Sharh Tajrid, a Treatise on The Investigation of Vocal Music, and a Treatise on Logic.

In this place, I met with a learned man of the Magi, whom they called Dastôr; by which title it is the custom of the Magi to call their learned men. He became friendly with me; and I learnt from him all he knew concerning the principles, doctrines, and history of his sect, of which he was well informed. He was of an upright character, and of perfect temperance and sanctity.

Thence I returned again to Shiraz; and as, amidst my perusal of various books, certain extraordinary words, some noble discoveries, and many illustrious and valuable gains of knowledge, had fallen in my way, which it is not easy at all times to become master of, and which can be attained by few even of a host of profound investigators; and whereas also there occurred to my defective mind a multitude of noble results and conceits, and a diversity of sublime truths; it became my wish, to arrange them in a collection which should consist of precious and rare things, and excel the famous

magazines of preceding literati. I began, therefore, to write this work, and gave it the name of Moddat Ol Omr. By degrees, whatever suited its quality was registered in this collection, and during my travels through Fars a considerable quantity of it was written. In this way, by the first of the year one thousand one hundred and thirty-five, it amounted to about seven thousand couplets; when, during the revolution which occurred that year at Ispahan, it was carried away in plunder, with my library and all that I had; and I have sadly to lament the loss of this manuscript. Had the work been completed, and submitted to the inspection of the learned world, it would have been judged worthy of being laid up as a treasure in the stores of discerning monarchs.

Thence I proceeded to *Bender Abbâsi.* Here were some ships bound to Mecca the Revered. I became inclined, with the small means I had, to resolve on that voyage, and I went on board a vessel. The air of the sea, and the movements of the ship, disordered my health, and I suffered severe illness. After some days, there came on rain and a heavy storm. The ship's crew gave up all hopes of life; but the Almighty granted us salvation. After much fatigue and hardship, we arrived on one of the coasts of *Ammân.* The people of that country, who are mostly heretics and sea-robbers, seized our ship and plundered the cargo; and leaving the company on the desert shore, went away. After some days, and with the greatest difficulty, I reached *Maskat,* one of their cities, and stayed there the space of a month; during which I obtained a little repose. For that year, the season and the means of performing the journey to Hijaz, no longer remained. I determined on returning, and having no alternative, I embarked in a vessel, and sailed to the island of Bahrein. The inhabitants of that place profess the true faith, and are a good people. Arabic learning, and the sciences of Law and Tradition, are in some degree current among them. One of their doctors and great men was Sheik *Mohammed,* Sheik Al Islam, who was perfectly kind to me. At his request, I stayed there near a month. The length of the island is about ten farsangs, and its breadth four. It is all palm plantations, and is overspread with cultivation; and the multitude of its inhabitants is great. Its waters are sweet and digestible; but

its atmosphere is exceeding hot, and, on account of the surrounding sea, is disagreeable.

Then, going on board the vessel, I sailed to the populous sea-port, *Bender Kang,* which is the best harbor of Fars. Thence I set out on my travels through the cold countries of that province; and during that journey few places of Fars escaped a visit from me.

IX

I WAS now returned to Shiraz, and my mind had become attached to the idea of abandoning the society of mankind and the habitation of cities, and retiring to some mountain with shelter and water, where I should content myself with what the true provider might destine for me. My heart had been at once turned away and weaned from its affection to mankind and the allurements of fortune. I found not the circumstances of the world conformable to my disposition, and wherever I heard that there was a cave in a mountain, with a spring of water and some trees, I was always desirous to go to see it, and immediately formed the design of taking up my abode there. But my friends and connections interfered, and my attachment to my parents, and the excess of their love for me, proved a strong obstacle.

I was at Shiraz, when a letter came to me from my father, at the top of which was this quatrain:

On my heart, I have wounds from your absence;
In my affairs, I have strictures from fortune:
Amidst all this grief, do not you also break
Your compact of fidelity; I have distresses enough without that.

In these words something was involved, which disquieted my affectionate heart. I therefore set out for Ispahan, and traveled by the road of the Court of Worship, *Yazd.* In that city, was a company of learned and able men; and it contained a population, whose qualities and conduct were good and laudable. It is one of the finest towns of Irak. There I met with *Rostam,* a Magus and celebrated Astrologer, who had many books, on his own religion, on philosophy, and on the religion of Mahomet, and was skilled in Astronomy,

Astrology, Geomancy, Arithmetic, and in the Canons of Celestial Observation. I was much in his society, and saw in his possession an Observation, which Ishmarat, a Magus, had written down four-and-thirty thousand years before. I looked summarily into it. It had many faults and deficiencies. He had laid the ground-work of the regulation of the celestial motions at the date of the creation of Keiomors,[1] who, in their opinion, was the *father of mankind,* of which the word *Adam* is the interpretation. According to him, thirty-four thousand and odd years are passed since that epoch. There is some strangeness in this: for the commonalty of the modern Magi do not reckon such a length of time to the creation of man.

X

I THEN set out for Ispahan, and waited on my parents, and visited my brothers and friends. This was one of the great mercies of God. I continued to be deeply employed in teaching, reading, and writing on scientific objects and questions; and I frequented the society of the eminent scholars of that great city. At that time my parents wished, that I should resolve to marry, and used their utmost efforts to persuade me. A crowd of my equals in rank and of the grandees, showed a desire for the connection. But through my application and immense love to science, I had no inclination to marriage, thinking it would be a hindrance to my leisure, and that celibacy was more suitable to my tranquillity and freedom: so that notwithstanding all their endeavors I would not consent.

In short, I led a tranquil life in Ispahan until, in the year one thousand one hundred and twenty-seven, as I before mentioned, my learned father, light be the earth on his tomb! arrived in the vicinity of the mercy of God. In consequence of this event, confusion made its appearance in my affairs. Two years afterwards, my mother also died. My grandmother, on my mother's side, with the whole of our dependents, remained in the house; and my two brothers also,

[1] Keiomors, who, according to the authority of the Dabistan, was only the first king of the fifth dynasty of the monarchs of Persia, was considered, by the followers of Zoroaster, as the first created being: and Mahomedan writers, who follow the Jewish chronology, trace his descent to Noah, but term him the first sovereign of that kingdom.

who employed themselves in study, were exceeding worthy and well-behaved young men, and, in their conduct towards me, showed kindness and propriety. By these fatal events, my mind became disturbed, and to tarry in my paternal mansion, disagreeable. I again traveled to Shiraz, and stayed some time in that city; though here also circumstances were changed, by the death of most of my former friends. However, I consoled myself, as well as I could, and, by my rule of habit, sometimes I spent hours in the society of the learned, or in writing on various subjects; at other times, whether I would or not, my mind was invaded by a crowd of verses, which I again, during my stay at Shiraz, collected together, and formed into a third Divan, consisting of three or four thousand couplets. But my mind was so horror-struck with the world, that I could familiarize myself with nothing; and though young, I regarded the world and its pleasures with so much contempt and detestation, that my heart was altogether inaccessible to their approaches. From the conquest which solicitude and care had made over me, that affection and violent love for science, and for teaching and writing on the sciences, which I had formerly nourished, became cold and feeble; and my constant desire was, to put on the habit of the Dervish, and to choose a retirement in some corner: but through my connection with my father's relicts, and their destitute condition, this project was impracticable.

XI

I RETURNED again to Ispahan, and saw my brothers, my father's connections, and my friends. Since the death of my venerable uncle in Lahijan, by the progressive manifestation of untoward events, and the confusion which arose from various causes in most places of Gilan, the means of subsistence, which came to us from our hereditary possessions, and were our chief resource in life, had begun every year to decrease: and after the death of my father, by reason of the ruin of those places, and there being no person of skill in business and ability to remedy grievances in that province, much loss was sustained even in that which should have been ours; and what came to us in the year was not sufficient for the necessary expenditure of a month. At last, by the in-

vasion of a Russian army into that province, and the increase of anarchy and confusion, our income was at once cut off, and most of our property and estates fell away from all profit and cultivation. The little which did remain, was diverted to the possession of others, and the small portion, which, by their own measure, they gave to the daughters and relicts of my deceased uncle, was insufficient even for the expenses of the latter; so that turning away our expectations from that quarter, we were reduced to live on what remained in our hands. As to myself, I had no disposition or ability for the acquisition of worldly riches; nor have I now: and to have recourse to any person, and, displaying to him my wants, to accept his favor and generosity, however many sincere friends I might have among the exalted Sovereigns and the most beneficent princes of mankind, to me, with my nice sense of honor and delicate high-mindedness, would be impossible. My inclination is, to confer benefits, and to spread gifts among the whole human race. With such a propensity, to live empty-handed and shorn of ability to the extent of my wish, is the most disagreeable and vexatious of all things, and the hardest of misfortunes.

A Philosopher was asked, who of all men in the world stands in the worst condition? He answered, *That person, whose mind expands far, whose wishes range wide, but whose power is contracted.* It is utterly impossible for the soul of the high-minded, to resign itself and body to meanness. The ways of gaining what our wants demand, by laudable methods, are, at most times, not to be found; yet the alternative of baseness and infamy is ineligible to the noble heart.

However, it was not long, before the distress of Ispahan and its blockade took place. The brief history of that affair, one of the surprising turns of the juggler, Fortune, is this:

A tribe of Kilizehi Afghans, who constituted the meaner part of the population of Candahar, and a certain number of whom were from time to time enlisted among the troops of that frontier, and maintained themselves in the service of the Governor there: of this body, a person named Mir Veis, was the Reyyis, or Chief. This man, by fraud and stratagem, murdered on the hunting-ground of the village of Dah Sheik,

the Amir Olomarâ, or Commander-in-chief, of that frontier, Shah Navâz Khan; and having surprised the fort of Candahar, he gained possession of abundant treasures, and was supported by the whole nation of Afghans. From the vestibule of the Soltan Shah Hosein Safavi, whom God cherish in his clemency! that preparation of means, which might have extinguished the fire of this rebellion, never obtained a state of forwardness to insure its success; and the aforesaid Afghans maintained their possession of the fort, till Mir Veis died. After him his son, Mahmôd by name, stood in his father's place, and extended the hand of usurpation and tyranny over those territories. Sometimes in that kingdom he assumed the state and spread the carpet of sovereignty, and sometimes he transmitted humble petitions to the Court of his Soltan. Many ages having now elapsed, since civilization, tranquillity, and the accomplishment of all worldly blessings had attained a state of perfection in the beautiful provinces of Irân, these were become a fit object for the affliction of the malignant eye. The indolent King and princes, and the army that sought nothing but repose and for near a hundred years had not drawn the sword from the scabbard, would not even trouble themselves to think of quelling this disturbance, until Mahmôd, with a large army, marched into the provinces of Kerman and Yazd, and having committed much plunder and devastation, proceeded on his route to Ispahan. This happened in the early part of the year one thousand one hundred and thirty-four (A. D. 1721).

When he approached this court of empire, the Itimâd Addowla, or Chief Minister, with all the princes and army that were in attendance on the King, received orders to repel him. One of the causes of the fatal events, that followed, was, that over an army composed of so many persons, no two of them, from the recklessness to which they had abandoned themselves, and the insincerity of their minds, could be brought to agree, that one should be the Amir, or Commander, and the other the Sardâr, or Leader. In short, the two armies met in the environs of the city; the Afghans were victorious, the Omaras completely defeated. The greatest part of the population of the neighboring villages, abandoning their habi-

tations, retired with all their appurtenances into the city, and created confusion among a people, who had never even imagined a similar disorder. The eyes of all were on the princes, destitute as the latter were of plan and counsel, and it remained impossible for the commonalty to seek a remedy, as they might otherwise have done, in the destruction of the enemy by their own means. Mahmôd, advancing with his army to the gate of the city, took up his quarters in the buildings of Farrokh Abâd, which of themselves formed a city and strong fort: and whatever necessary supplies he wanted, he brought to his army from the large villages near him, which had been deserted by their owners; and thus making himself master of stores for many years collected, he destroyed by fire, what his own consumption required not.

After three or four months, the circumstances of the besieged became greatly distressed, and provisions fell short in that vast town, filled with such innumerable crowds of people. Gradually no provisions were at all to be found; for the Afghans beginning to mind every side of the town, raised a fort at every two parasangs or less, and left there a company of guards. Constantly also troops of horse relieved each other in riding round the walls. At this period, driven by want of victuals, persons were continually escaping from the town in disguise and secretly from every nook and corner; and the Afghans suffered them to pass without notice. As within the city almost every kind of improper food was used, multitudes were daily attacked with leprous tumors and bowel disorders, which brought on their destruction. But such were the liberality and generosity witnessed in the people of the city, that notwithstanding the loaf of bread rose to four or five ashrafis, no individual, either foreigner, or native, was known to have died of hunger, or to have been reduced to mendicity. If any one really did perish by famine, it must have been that he concealed his condition from his friends. At last, however, things were brought to such a pitch, that no food was to be found; and then the people died in crowds. The few that survived, were weak and sickly; and of every class, the number of skillful, able, eminent, great, and noble men who died during that calamity, is known only to the Almighty. Amidst these circumstances my condition

was such, and the fortune that passed over me so extraordinary, as the great searcher of secrets is alone acquainted with. Everything, that the hand of my ability could reach to, I expended; and, except my library, scarcely anything remained unsold in my house. Though of little or no utility in those circumstances, I distributed near two thousand volumes of my books; the remainder of my collection became the plunder of the Afghans.

During the latter days of the siege I was attacked by severe illness; and my two brothers, my grandmother, and the whole of the dwellers in my house, died, so that my mansion was emptied of all but two or three infirm old women-servants, who attended me, till my disorder began to abate.

XII

By the blessing of divine providence, when, from the violence of my anxiety, and the excessive weakness which was a consequence of my disorder, my situation was become most extraordinary, and at the moment that the general distress had reached its extremity, in the early part of the month Moharram of the year one thousand one hundred and thirty-five, I changed my clothes, and in company of two or three of the greatest lords, my friends, having quitted the city in peasant's disguise, I arrived at a small town, distant two farsangs from the city. Shortly afterwards, some of the relatives and courtiers of the king, taking him with them, repaired to the residence of Mahmôd, and had an interview with him.

On the next day, which was the fifteenth of the aforesaid month Moharram, Mahmôd, having entered the city, alighted at the Palace, and had the prone recited, and coin struck, in his name. A multitude of persons who had still remained in Ispahan, obtained pardon and clemency; and the late Soltan (Hosein) was placed in a corner of his own palace, and committed to the custody of a guard. On the intelligence of these events, the high and mighty prince, Shah Tahmâsb, who, during the severity of the siege, had been sent forth with a crowd of his attendants, and had arrived at the Court of Sovereignty, *Cazvin*, ascended and seated himself on the royal throne of his inheritance.

For myself, having taken my departure from the small place I mentioned, and having, with the greatest difficulty, performed some most perilous stages, I arrived in safety at the town, Khonsâr. Here I stayed some time, as winter was come on, and the roads were full of snow. At length, having provided myself with what was requisite for the journey, I set out and arrived at *Khorram Abâd,* which is the chief seat of government of Loristân Feili, and is a highly cultivated and populous country, well watered, and of salubrious air. In this place I halted, having no longer the power to move; and, through the severity of my sufferings, I was filled with lamentation and complaints against the attacks of my adverse fortune. In the strange condition to which my afflictions and my distressing adventures had reduced me, the powers of my mind fell dormant; and the page of my memory, becoming void of every particle of knowledge with which it had been formerly inscribed, now presented a perfect blank. I had no power left me of speaking or putting words together; and the only trace of life that remained in me, was the feeble connection of my breath with my helpless body. In this state I continued a whole year; at the end of which period my health returned; and that was ascertained and made evident to me, which has been mentioned by Sheik Ibn Gharbi in the section Idrisi of his book, Fisôs El Hikam. I afterwards wrote a full commentary on the Sheik's saying; and from those who read my work it remained not concealed, that the description of the strange occurrences and events that befell me, was a manifestation of wonders and a prodigy of fortune, wherein minuteness of detail would exceed all measure of possibility. With that which may be described, should freedom be given to the pen and nothing be excused or omitted, whole volumes might be filled, and my entire life would be engaged in the performance. How then in these few moments of leisure is the recital possible even of a small portion and sample of my adventures? A little out of much, one among a thousand of the occurrences must be briefly stated.

XIII

At this time, also, the kingdom, or province of Khorâsân, notwithstanding its being remote from the great disturbances, was thrown into confusion by the turbulence of some thirty thousand Abdâli Afghans, who laid claim to sovereign power in the seat of government, Herât; and the revolt of Melik Mahmôd Khan, governor of Nimrôz, or Sistân, in Meshed Tôs; whereby the inhabitants of that province were beset with tumults, and strife and murder were made common.

In the provinces of Tabaristan and Gilan the plague had spread its ravages, and prolonging them to the space of ten years it caused an immense population to perish. At the same time the generals who were sent with a swarm of troops by the Emperor of the Russians, landing from the sea, made themselves masters of most of the considerable towns of Gilan. At this period no less than eighteen persons, possessing troops and retinue, were reckoned up, who in the different provinces of Irân had raised their pretensions to royalty and principality. There were many besides who exercised robbery and plunder. The Safavean monarch, still undaunted, moved hand and foot amidst these horrible distresses, and against each of his powerful enemies sent such an army as his means enabled him, to cut off at least the opportunity of further transgression on the part of his adversaries. He himself was engaged in Azerbâïjân with the Turkish forces, who had conquered a great portion of that province.

During this occasion so favorable for them, the body of Afghans who had gained possession of the imperial residence, Ispahan, found it easy to subdue some of the districts around them in Irâk, and a part of the province of Fârs; and thus gave a considerable extension to their empire. A troop of ruined Persians, partly of their own accord, partly by force, united themselves to these Afghans, who were a rude people and accustomed only to uncivilized life in the country, and having instructed them in the rules of government and of worldly possession, and in the ways and customs of life and propriety, they led them to the method of administration and investiture peculiar to the habits of the Kizil Bâsh. But from

their meanness and inferiority every little thing showed in the sight of the Afghans to be vast and valuable; and in consequence of their narrow circumstances and of at the same time the smallness of their numbers, if any assemblage, even inconsiderable, took place in any city, they yielded to their fears, and suddenly began a general slaughter. This happened several times in Ispahan; where, out of covetousness, they left nothing in the possession of the inhabitants; and acquired to themselves such a quantity of wealth, and treasures, and costly rarities, that thought and calculation must fall short of their value. The people had no kind of rest from the tyranny of these wretches; and the peasantry, in despair, more than once girt their loins to massacre them.

In the court of power, Cazvin, which the Afghans had gained to their possession, the populace having united one day with the market-people, put the Afghans to the edge of the sword, and killed about four thousand of them; bringing the city by this means under their own government. When, shortly afterwards, another body of Afghan troops approached their walls, they surrendered the town, but on a certain compact and agreement.

In like manner, at Khonsâr, a place of inferior note, the populace revolted, and surrounding in the midst of the town a body of Afghans with their governor and commander who had arrived there on their march to another station, they killed in one day three thousand of them.

One of the wonders to be recorded is this, that some contemptible villages, which had been put to every shift to store themselves with provisions, guarded and maintained against the Afghans for the whole time of their seven years' dominion, the weak fortifications they were surrounded with; and nothing of theirs came within the reach of the Afghans, but the whistling of their musket-balls; so that however much these invaders exerted themselves to subdue them during that long period, their labor was in vain.

The Afghans indeed were constantly riding about; and though in possession of victory and superiority, they obtained no rest; sometimes in consequence of their fears and alarms, at other times from the actual attacks of the peasantry and the Persian army. But however often the troops of the Kizil

Bâsh attacked them, by the decree of fate their business was nothing furthered.

XIV

After two years' possession of the sovereign power, which accident had placed in his hands, the worthless Mahmôd gave orders for the death of the Safavean princes, who were his prisoners; and nine-and-thirty innocent seyyids, some grown up, others in their childhood, were barbarously slaughtered. It is wonderful, that on the same night, a change passed over him, and he became deranged. He began to gnaw his own hands, and ate his own excrements. Every person that approached him, he overwhelmed with abuse; and in this condition died. A person named Ashraf, of their nation, seated himself in his place; and was qualified with bravery and prudence. By persuasion and coercion he gained to himself adherents from among the people of Irâk and Fârs; and having equipped a numerous army, and assembled his forces, he subdued the greater part of the last mentioned province; so that his affairs assumed a very great splendor. The Turkish general, Ahmed Pasha, having marched against him with an immense army, they gave battle in the neighborhood of a small town called Anjadân. At first the Afghans were broken by the fire of the Turkish artillery, and were forced to abandon their position. When evening came on, Ashraf again drew up his forces, and, after the manner of the Kizil Bâsh, having raised on all sides a noise like thunder by the sound of trumpets and the beat of drums, he rushed upon the Turks, who, with their commander Ahmed Pasha, were routed and put to flight. At length a peace was concluded between them.

Soon afterwards, Ashraf put to death the Shah Soltân Hosein, and sent his corpse to be interred at the court of the faithful, Com. Ashraf remained firm on the throne until he was finally routed and destroyed by Shah Tahmâsb, as will be hereafter described.

XV

I was at Khorram Abâd, when the fire of the Turkish revolution flamed over those confines, and when the invasions of

the Turkish troops began to reach the environs of that town. Ali Mardân Khan came to the opinion, that as a war with the Turks at that time was a matter of great difficulty, the most salutary measure would be to retire with the whole population to a part of the province, which was a mountain of difficult access, and to abandon the town and territory of Khorram Abâd, which was in the vicinity of the Turkish camp, to emptiness and desolation. With this intent he moved with his army and dependents to the remotest district of the province, leaving Amir Hasan Beg Saliverzi, one of the princes of that tribe, in the city, to remove the people, and, having laid waste the town and citadel, to join him. The inhabitants, however, fell into confusion; and most of them being unable to move away, and having at the same time no security against their terror of the Turks, they raised a commotion like the rising from the dead. Amir Hasan Beg came to my lodgings, and the citizens also came in a body. Much discourse of various kinds passed between us, and I saw that the removal of the people was utterly out of their power. To lay waste such a city, which was the envy of the rose-bower of Irem, and, working the still greater ruin by their own hands of such an immense population, to turn adrift their old women, their children, and their families into the desert of destruction, was a measure which I did not approve of; and I advised the Amir not to stir, but to adopt some plan for the defense of himself and people. I exhorted the citizens to union, and to the active preparation of ammunition and arms: and I showed them the necessity of being vigilant and courageous. My speech produced its effect and gained the approbation of all. The citizens entered into a treaty and covenant with each other, and every one equipped himself in armor and the accouterments of war. Their exertions to this end being completed, they closed up, as well as they could, all the ways and passages to the entrance of the enemy, and took all the necessary steps for strengthening the fortifications and ramparts of the town and citadel. So powerfully did I employ my encouragement and multiply my exhortations on them, that the most ignorant of their number, within a few days, arrived at perfect skill in the use of arms; and to such a height was their bravery wound

up, that if a formidable army had presented itself against them, they would not have hesitated to give it battle. The inhabitants now regained their tranquillity, and the town resumed its busy populousness. Most nights I kept watch with the citizens myself, and in the day accompanied them in their rides. When the Turkish army was made aware of the proficiency in arms and state of preparation of the town's people; and when the name and multitude of the branches of the Feili tribe, the roughness and difficulty of the roads and passages through the province, and the circumstance of there being in the midst of them a governor like the renowned Amîr Ol Omarâ, had been spoken of loudly by the voice of report, the Turks became thoughtful, and no longer setting their faces in that direction, they confined their operations to the remaining districts around them. As soon as the aforesaid Amîr Ol Omarâ perceived, that the people of the town remained stationary at their homes, he repeatedly sent to caution and deter them; but no one paid attention to his messages. After six months' endurance of much hardship and affliction in the mountains, he came down himself also to the city, and approved of the advice which had been followed.

XVI

As a great number of my acquaintances and friends had perished in the storm of Hamadân, and their families were marched in the crowd of prisoners, I formed the design of going to that country to inquire into their condition and to use my endeavors towards the release of the captives, as far as my utmost ability would carry me. I set out, therefore, in the direction of Hamadân, and with my own people and a company of persons who joined me on the road we were in all seventy horsemen. The highways and by-passages were so full of disturbance and confusion that it was difficult to pass along. In one or two of the stages, we fell in with the Turkish troops, and were surrounded by them. After suffering hard trials and severe vexations we got away in safety, by the favor of the Almighty, and arrived at Hamadân. A number of the well known inhabitants of Kermanshah and other towns, who accompanied the Pasha and the Turkish

army against their wills, and had a former acquaintance with me, united in the undertaking; and we made great exertions for the release of some of the prisoners; until by the employment of every sort of persuasion a body of them were set at liberty, and arrived in a place of security. Whilst on this business God knows what trouble, care, and affliction passed over me. In some of the main streets of the city it was impossible to pass for the bodies of the slain, which had fallen one upon the other; and in most places it appeared to view, in what manner during the onset the Hamadanians, having closed up the entrances of the streets, repelled the assaults of the Turks; and, whatever number of them was killed, still others stood up in their places to be slaughtered, until the bodies of the slain, heaped on one another, reached to the top of the highest walls.

Though I had many friends among the Turks and was greatly respected by them, still it was very distressing to me to be in their camp; and retiring therefore from amongst them I arrived with a vast deal of difficulty at *Nahâvend,* which town up to that period had not been reduced to their possession: but to stay in those borders proved disagreeable, and being sick and weary I conceived an inclination to pass into the Arabian Irâk, and taking up my abode amidst the holy mesheds to spend there the remainder of my life. I went therefore back to Khorram Abâd, which city I found entirely empty in consequence of apprehensions of attacks from the Turkish army. Afterwards I went to Basra, and intended to go on to Bagdad, when, a vessel being about to sail for Yemen, and a number of persons having embarked for the purpose of performing their pilgrimage to Mecca, I also was seized with a return of my former wish, and having furnished myself with provisions I went on board the ship. In consequence of a storm which we weathered, and the usual distress from which a sea-voyage can scarcely ever be exempt, I fell sick and helpless, weak and full of pain. After forty days I arrived on the coast of Yemen, at the port of Môkha, and having landed from the ship, I lay down on the bed of sickness, in that town; but as the air of the place disagreed with me, by the advice of some of the citizens I removed to the populous city of Taïz, which is celebrated throughout

Yemen for amenity of air and pleasantness of situation. There my health was restored; but in the mean time the proper season of the pilgrimage had elapsed. At that time the journey from Basra to Bagdad, by means of the military garrisons on the roads, was impracticable; and as Basra is situated on the sea-shore, and its atmosphere is disagreeable, I found it unpleasant to remain there, and had no choice but to return to Hoveizah and Shôshter. Here I was a prey to perplexity, amid the disturbance of the world and the giddiness of my own mind; and in no corner could I find any rest, as appears from the sense of my following quatrain:

I am he, who in the kingdom of nothingness am a Soltân;
Though provisionless, I am still furnished with provision.
In these ruined possessions I resemble a mill-stone;
My head goes round, puzzled for why it goes round.

The inhabitants of most of the places which I visited, wishing through their friendship for me that I should stay with them, proposed marriage to me: but having regard to my own circumstances and the exigences of the times, so full of disturbance and so excessively changeable, I found it in no wise desirable; and to remain among them, for various reasons, appeared to me odious and disagreeable.

XVII

From Shôshter I again entered the province of Loristan Feili, and arrived in ill health at Khorram Abâd. So ill was I, that when the approach of Ahmed Pasha, the commander of the Turkish army, to that city was publicly known, and the small number of inhabitants there, taking to flight, retired to the difficult passes of the mountains, I alone with a few servants remained in the city, until the General with an innumerable army of Turks being come up pitched his camp without the walls: whereupon not thinking it advisable to remain alone in the city, I went into the midst of the Turkish troops and stationed myself there. After a little time the General got some of the inhabitants into his hands and gave them promise of favor and good treatment. A small body of them in consequence came together, and the General, having appointed one of the Turks as governor of the place, re-

tired on his march back. I kept company with this same body of troops, and arrived with them at Kerman Shah. On the route I suffered great distress from the weak and painful state of my health, and from the severity of the cold. The General conceived great affection for me, and treated me with the utmost respect: and a number of the Turks became my friends and associates. With them was *Abd Allah Efendi,* a Cadzi Asker of Constantinople, who enjoyed the highest celebrity in the Turkish empire for wisdom and learning. He became friendly with me and sought and gained my intimacy. Most of the discourses on science passed between us; and withdrawing my view from his dignity of chief, from his high station, and from the reverence in which he was held, I found him to the last degree mean and worthless, and a stranger to knowledge. His whole stock of erudition was limited to the retaining by heart some ordinary questions of the Hanifean system of Law: nothing more. Such I have found all that I have seen of the men celebrated for learning among that people. True indeed, one among them was *Abd Allatif Chelebi* of Bagdad. He in polite learning and in Arabic poetry was truly a master.

XVIII

The King, having marched from Ispahan, and fought several battles with the rebels of Dargazîn, destroyed their fort, and having reduced to obedience the few who were of a remnant of the sword, he turned his face towards Azerbâïjân. There he crossed the river Araxes. A body of Turkish troops also had been preparing on their side for the conflict, and in the neighborhood of the town of Iravân the meeting of the two armies took place. The King gained the victory; and from persons who were present on the field of battle I have heard, that nine thousand of the Turks were killed in the action; and that a rich booty fell into the hands of the Kizil Bâsh. In truth it was a signal triumph; and as the Turks who were in the Castle of Iravân had endeavored to fortify themselves in that place, the King applied his efforts to besiege it.

In consequence of these events great agitation prevailed throughout the Turkish empire, and the princes of the Othman government having concerted measures dispatched Ah-

med Pasha of Bagdad with a copious army in the direction of Irâk, that by this means the King and the forces of the Kizil Bâsh might be induced to abandon the siege of Iravân. And so it happened; for when the news reached the King of the arrival of the Turkish army in Irâk, which province at that time was unprovided with any governor possessing power and bravery, he retired from the siege of Iravân, thinking the repulsion of that army to be an affair of more importance, and directed his march to Irâk. The hostile parties met in the environs of Hamadân, and halted near to each other. Ahmed Pasha, the aforesaid, practicing deceit, repeatedly sent messages of peace and put forth frequent entreaties to lay aside contention and enmity, so that the army of the Kizil Bâsh soon became neglectful of their warlike preparations.

And still the negotiations for peace continued; but as the two quarrelsome armies were stationed very close to each other, and as it were hand to collar, a number of the most eager to fight entered the field on both sides, and engaged a combat with each other. To hinder hostilities on either party now became difficult, and suddenly a general action took place. The Turks having made an entry into a ruined fort, which stood close to the lines of the Kizil Bâsh, strengthened their position, and opened a fire of musketry. The lines of the Kizil Bâsh began to disappear, and in an hour's time were entirely dispersed. An universal flight ensued, and however much the King exerted himself to arrest it, his efforts were unavailing. Some of his Omarâs, hanging by the reins of his horse, at length conducted him out of the field. The Turks on their side proceeded on no further, but returning to Bagdad in perfect satisfaction with the victory they had gained, they sent some persons acquainted with the language to the King, to sue for peace and to arrange the terms of an amicable adjustment, making many apologies for their former conduct. The King on his part gave his consent, and a peace was concluded between the two nations. The King returned to Ispahan, and on the very same day that I was about to go on board a ship at Bender Abbâsi, and to set sail on my journey to Hijâz, a letter came to me from the King with others from a number of my friends in the camp, conveying to me the true statement of these occurrences.

Having embarked I sailed to Bender Sôrat, where I stayed near two months, and then departed for the place of my destination. The Europeans during the voyage were very respectful and attentive in their kind services towards me, until I arrived at the port of Jidda, where the near attainment of the wished for happiness quickly made me forget the endless disquietudes of a sea-voyage. From that place I afterwards accomplished my pilgrimage to the venerable House of God and to Mount Minâ, and by the grace and guidance of the Lord of Glory obtained the desire I had so long been cherishing. In Mecca the Revered, by reason of an intimation made to me in a dream, I wrote a treatise on The Imâmat, and was inclined to remain in that holy spot. But on several accounts it was impossible, and in the month Moharram, one thousand one hundred and forty-five (latter end of June, 1732) joining a caravan of pilgrims bound to Lahsâ, I traversed the desert in the heat of summer and arrived at that town. From that country I sailed to the island of Bahrein, and thence to Bender Abbâsi.

Here I found that the affairs of Irân were again thrown into confusion, the change of its Sovereign having occurred in the beginning of the year. The summary of that transaction is as follows: Tahmâsb Colî Khân was occupied in the siege of Herât, when the King fought the battle of Hamadân and afterwards made peace with the Turks. The Great Khân, attributing this business to want of prudent conduct, disapproved of the treaty; and after eight months' storming and blockade having forced his entrance into Herât and subdued and slaughtered the Abdâli Afghans, and on the few who escaped the sword having imposed the obligation of perpetual service in the army, he returned to the Holy Meshed. There he summoned to him some of the nearest attendants and most confidential ministers of the King, and having gained their acquiescence to his opinion of affairs, and fixed his design of attacking Ahmed Pasha and making the conquest of Bagdad, he said: "I shall first wait on the King, and having taken leave of him I will then go to Bagdad." The courtiers having repaired to the King, who judging by appearances was suspicious of the Khan's design to declare himself independent, tranquillized his mind by the demonstration of his

devotedness and sincere affection, and the Great Khan, arriving in Ispahan with a copious army, waited on the Shah and spoke of the permission which he was desirous of to march against the Turks. Being empowered to conduct the expedition he was preparing to set his troops in motion, when, one day, the courtiers promoted a wish that the King should go to the apartments of the Khan, which were in one of the royal gardens; and the King, in consequence, mounted his horse privately, and rode to the garden. The Khan advanced to meet him on foot, paid to him his dutiful obeisances, and having spread the carpet of convivial entertainment, entreated him to remain there that day. When the King had abandoned himself to sleep, the Khan sent for some of the chiefs of his army and made a speech to them on the exercise of the sovereign power. "In the present circumstances," said he, "the advisable measure is, that, on account of the weakness of his fortunes, the King should withdraw some time from sovereign power into retirement. We will then raise his son to the sovereignty, and dispatch our business with the Turks." As this purpose had been previously concerted, they gave their approval on their part, and informed the King of the issue of their deliberations. Unable to help himself he submitted to his fate, and his son, an infant but two months old, was carried into the royal tribunal, the prone was said and the coin struck in his name, and he was styled by the title of Shah Abbâs. Having sent away Shah Tahmâsb under a strong guard into Khorâsân, the Khan, who had himself previously married one of the royal females, then gave another of them in marriage to his eldest son: and whatever was stored up in the treasuries and magazines belonging to the King now fell into the possession of the Great Khân. He next appointed governors of his own over the whole kingdom of Irân, and having assigned some attendants to the above-mentioned Shah Abbâs he sent him to Cazvin. A body of the Bakhtiâri tribe revolting at this transaction made a disturbance and murdered their new governor. To chide their petulance the Khan marched from Ispahan, and after a fierce altercation reduced them to submission.

Having set out on his march to Bagdad, the Great Khan fought a battle on the road with an army of Turks, and

proving victorious drove the enemy before him to that city. Ahmed Pasha, governor of that court of peace, marched out with an immense army, and ventured an engagement. Being routed he fled to the citadel. The Great Khan boldly advanced to the siege of that place, and having thrown a strong bridge of boats over the Tigris and occupied both sides of the bank and citadel, he applied himself to the close blockade of the besieged. The appurtenances and dependencies of Bagdad were all gained possession of by the Kizil Bâsh, and were subjected to contingent hardships. Ahmed Pasha certainly showed great valor and firmness in the maintenance of the citadel; but as he had no means of escape and founded no security on a surrender to the Kizil Bâsh, his only alternative was in an obstinate resistance; so that being encompassed by an overflowing army during a siege of protracted length, that immense city fell a prey to famine, and the inhabitants fed on almost every kind of animal, whether eatable or uneatable, even dogs and cats; and the condition of the besieged became one of the severest hardship.

Having described a portion of these occurrences, I will now revert to the history of my own adventures.

XIX

When I arrived at Bender Abbâsi I found that in consequence of the severe distresses I had undergone in my journey to Hijâz, and of the numerous debts which had fallen on my shoulders, it was entirely out of my power to stir from that place. During the two months that I remained in that port I employed all the means I could to release my obligations, and settled to the best of my power the distracted affairs of myself and dependents. At that period, by reason of the revolution in the government, the change in the laws and regulations of the empire, and the heavy and excessive taxes laid on every class of the people, the province of Lâristân was in a disturbed condition, and utter confusion reigned. The inhabitants, who had been afflicted by all kinds of accidents and misfortunes, and for so many years had been trampled on by such a cruel enemy as the Afghans, were now in bad circumstances of life, and possessed no power or ability for the further endurance of financial burdens, oppression, and

tyranny. Yet the commissioners of the Divân and the tax-gatherers, under different pretexts, advanced in the imposition and collection of various sums of money, and the excuses and supplications and prayers of none were listened to. And as each person fell back on his own estate and means, and no protection or help was found in common, the consequence was that a strange condition of things appeared. For myself, my nature is so framed that I cannot countenance any folly or iniquity, and for cruelty and oppression have no endurance. To succor the afflicted, to relieve the oppressed, and to protect the weak I am irresistibly impelled, and should I be unequal to the performance, rest to me is impossible and life a prohibition. Amidst this disorder the miserable wretches were driven to implore my help; but no remedy was to be found, and the Great Knower of Secrets is alone acquainted with what passed over me. To the men in office I perseveringly used both sternness and asperity, both raillery and reproaches for the protection of the helpless; but my efforts were vain, as the very basis of their operations was unrelenting exaction, which was designed to know neither end nor bounds.

Leaving Bender Abbâsi I directed my travels to Ispahan, and at every fort or village that I came to, the inhabitants gathered round me and vented their complaints and lamentations. As I was known over the whole of that country, there was not a single place where the people were not able to recognize me, so that it was impossible for me to hold back in concealment. At length I came to the town of Lâr. It was now the depth of winter and the rainy season, and I was overcome with weakness and infirmity and in no condition to perform a journey, particularly through a cold country. I halted therefore some days. The circumstances of this ruined city were in the lowest destitution. The former governor had been seized for concussion in his office, and the new governor had brought with him four hundred troopers, besides a crowd of other servants and dependents; and what was extraordinary was, that by the regulation then established they were to take their daily expenses day by day from the town's people, at the same time that on account of the desertion and unsafety of the roads no goods of any kind were brought to the city, and not only did the prices of food rise, but scarcely a

sufficient quantity of provisions was to be found. Yet, towards a multitude of the helpless wretches, who having survived all the preceding calamities were dragging on their existence in absolute misery, the governor and his troopers used the greatest severity in the exaction of their daily wants. Another chief officer also came for the purpose of taking the number of the palm-trees in the country, and seeking to double the amount of the customary duties, employed his utmost diligence to that effect. On trees likewise of every other kind he invented a tax which had never had existence in that province, and having established for himself a court in his own peculiarity, he fell like a hurricane on the heads of the people.

Moreover, from all the many districts within their reach, by appointing to each of them rigorous collectors, they gathered in the taxes and contributions of the forthcoming year also; and from every peasant's family they required one trooper, furnished with arms and accouterments, who was to attend the governor's stirrup, and to serve the whole time he should be wanted without pay or allowance. As many as one thousand men had been brought together after this fashion out of those districts; and three thousand more were demanded, but could not be found. To the wretched peasant who had neither clothing, nor arms, nor ammunition for service, who on his own strip of soil, in misery and hired slavery, was compelled to seek food for himself and family, how could such a journey be practicable? The heads of the villages, in consequence, were exposed to chastisement and reproaches on the one side, and to the charge of tyranny and insolence on the other. With all this they wanted also ammunition and large supplies of provisions for storing.

And this line of conduct was exclusively pursued towards the Shia peasantry of Lâr, who were in obedience to the government; for some parts of the province, which are of the Shafaïa sect, and during the Afghan usurpation had enjoyed perfect tranquillity, were not up to this time yet returned to their submission towards the governor, and being strongly established in their habitations they kept themselves aloof from these heavy impositions. But the Great Khân, having given the command of the province of Fârs to *Mohammed*

Khan of the Balôch Tribe, had issued his orders to him to rouse them from their slumbers; and he in conjunction with the governor of Shiraz, and with an immense assemblage of followers, set out on his march in that direction. The wretched peasants, wherever he appeared, fled in terror from the manifold oppression and violence of his troops; and he soon arrived before the town of Jahrom.

XX

Abd Al Ghani Khan, governor of that town, who was a good man and one of my friends, who during that long period by superior management and bravery had preserved the place from the malignity of the Afghans and maintained its population in wealth and prosperity, however much he wished, after he had served these troops with all the warlike apparatus that lay within his power, to make them pass on from those borders, was unable to persuade them; and carrying their demands beyond the possibility of being satisfied, they opened wide the hand of violence. Abd Al Ghani Khan, who possessed all the qualities of justice, moderation, and bravery, had no alternative but to fortify the ramparts of the town and to apply himself with the military he held under his command to the defense and guard of the place. Fierce hostility arose in consequence between the two parties, and the Commander-in-chief bound up his loins to the blockade and extirpation of the governor, who with all his soothing messages of civility and of a return to concord, could produce on him no effect.

Amidst these circumstances, the inhabitants of Lâr, whose temperament is not void of intrepidity and courage, found themselves destitute of all means of remedying their condition, were reduced to straits by the conduct of the governor and revenue officers, and felt moreover the greatest horror at the approach of the Commander-in-chief and at the cruel oppression of his army. The governor of Lâr, on his side, was uneasy and filled with dread of them, on account of his own intolerable conduct, and having assembled together his troops and dependents and given them a place in his own palace, he maintained the most vigilant watch and ward; inattentive to the poet's warning, that

Victory is not by troops collected in array,
But it is by the blessings of virtue and fortune, and the assistance of the Almighty.

It happened one day that the governor fell into a passion on some pretense with the mayor of the city, and having ordered him to be dragged out and thrown on the ground, he caused him to be severely bastinadoed; after which he cast him into prison. To some of the Ayâns, who had presented themselves to pay him their respects, he used the most opprobrious threats; and they, with the citizens and dependents of the mayor, came to me, and began to vent their lamentations and to show the most violent emotions. All my endeavors, however strenuous, to console them and to persuade them to forbearance and patient endurance, were of no avail. Despairing of the life of the mayor, who was imprisoned in the governor's house, they could not repress their uneasiness and terror. I recommended to the governor to set the mayor at liberty; but he made excuses for not complying; and the grandees of the city repeatedly went to him, and displaying their innocence and helplessness labored for the release of their magistrate; but in vain.

The governor came one day to my house. I held much discourse to him in a tendency to peace and concord, and having pointed out to him the line of conduct which in his circumstances was most advisable, and led him to understand that the imprisonment of the mayor was the motive of the sedition, and the cause of all the tumult, I prevailed on him to release him from confinement; but it was on condition, that he should quit the country, and set out on his way to Hijâz. This proposal being assented to, the mayor was bent upon retiring. When two days were gone by, the governor repented and showed a desire to seize him again. The people of the town, taking the alarm, sat together in council during the night, and made up their minds to rid themselves of the governor. At day-break, accompanied by the mayor, they poured all together into the governor's house, and raising shouts with a loud report of musketry killed the governor and some of his attendants. His troopers hid themselves as each was able in some corner, and a body of them sought refuge in

my apartments. As soon as the business of the governor was dispatched, the mayor and others with all that crowd and invasion of the populace came to me, and desired to avenge themselves of the troopers, from whom they had experienced much oppression. But I insisted on protecting them, and both the mayor and the populace yielding to decency and compelling themselves to the observance of civility and good manners, desisted from molesting them. The very same day, making my excuses for the haste, I conducted them on their retreat with their horses and luggage in safety out of the city; and to the mayor and Ayans I made many reproaches for venturing on such an act at a time when they had no preparation or means to carry it to a conclusion; when it would probably be the cause of their extirpation and ruin in a mass. But it had been so ruled by providence, and was a thing past control.

The deposed governor who was an old friend of mine, obtaining his release from the accusation against him of rapine and concussion, withdrew from the city with all his people. The guards of the citadel of Lâr, with an hypocritical affectation, refusing to go hand in hand with the rest of the citizens, settled themselves in the fort; and in the space of a few days a most extraordinary mutiny and disturbance prevailed in that town. Several persons, who had ancient enmities against each other, were killed on both sides, and it came very near to such a pass, that tyrannical power and usurpation were to be exercised indiscriminately. By discreet management I allayed the fire of this sedition, and encountered difficulties and distresses during this novel state of things which it is impossible for me to describe. However much I endeavored to retire from amongst them, my efforts were ineffectual, as they all united in detaining me by their prayers and importunities. The best of all was that on every side a report had been spread, that their proceedings in this affair were by my direction. As one thousand persons amongst them were inhabitants of the surrounding villages and districts, whom the governor had forcibly collected together, the greatest part of that body now took their own lead and returned to their several habitations.

When the Commander-in-chief, who was besieging Jahrom,

became acquainted with these circumstances, he left the governor of Shiraz with a corps of his army to the siege and blockade of that town, and marched away himself with an immense body of troops in the greatest haste for Lâr. As soon as he arrived in the neighborhood of that city, the whole population flocked together into one of the districts of the town, and applied their minds to the management of their affairs. The Commander-in-chief having stationed his troops within the walls, prepared himself to slaughter and pillage the citizens, and made an attack from all sides on the district where they were collected. The citizens, on their part, strove in their own defense and endeavored to repel him with all their might; and the war was protracted for a whole week. When he saw that it would be difficult for him to make the speedy conquest of that district, at the same time that the important affair of Jahrom was still on his hands, he reluctantly made advances of lenity and affability, and after some parley it was settled, that leaving a lieutenant in the castle of Lâr he should retire, and that after some days, when the citizens had regained their tranquillity, each of them should return to his house, and the lieutenant also, removing from the castle to the city, should take up his residence in the government palace. The Commander-in-chief performed his part of this agreement, and the mayor, having made him a trifling present, returned to his people. The lieutenant, being with his body of troops in the fort, used all his instances that the people should come forth from their fortified district; but neither had he any trust in them, nor they in him. At length it so fell out, that the Ayâns and for the most part the populace, abandoning the city, withdrew in a mass, and in extreme vigilance and circumspection with their domestics and children, their arms and ammunition, repaired to inhabit their villages and the surrounding country.

XXI

I ALSO retired with them, until they halted in two villages, in which they held lands and tenements, when I chose to separate from them, and after some time arrived at Bender Abbâsi. Here I stayed some days; but, being distressed at the sight of the circumstances and situation of the inhabitants,

I lost all patience. Every person's tongue, in consequence of the impositions and tyranny of the courts of government, was constantly employed in uttering this sentiment:

He may be cured with water, who is choked with a bit of meat;
But how shall I be relieved, when it is with water that I am stifled?

My mind was bent on the purpose of bidding adieu to Persia, and of leaving these shores for Basra, whence I would use every possible means of transporting myself to Najaf Ashraf. But as the Great Khan held Bagdad in blockade, and the whole of Arabian Irâk was thrown into confusion by the conflicts of the army of the Kizil Bâsh, and was tossed in the storm of casualties, the people of Basra also were distracted with fear, and most of them were fleeing to the sea; and a terror like that of the day of judgment having fallen on the city, no kind of rectitude or order any longer existed; so that however strenuously I exerted myself to obtain a ship from the people of the coast that I might sail for Basra, it was impossible to succeed. They all excused themselves by telling me, that the people of Basra would seize their vessel to make use of it for their own flight. Having no power therefore to carry my design into execution, I was reduced to the alternative of embarking on board a vessel belonging to the European Company of Dutchmen, and sailed for the coast of Ommân. Having landed at a town in that country, which is situated on the seashore and is called *Sahâr*, I made a stay there of near two months; but from the great inconveniences and troubles with which my heart was distressed it was impossible for me to remain settled, and obtaining a vessel from the tribe Raâb of the wild Arabs inhabiting those parts, I embarked and sailed for the city of Mascat, where I stayed above two months. The filthy state of that country, its severe heat, and the unpleasantness of its air and water made me ill and weak.

How happens it, Lord! that my pain finds not a moment's rest;
That my head turns round from weakness, and finds no pillow?

In short, sick and infirm as I was, I embarked on my return

to Bender Abbâsi; but as it was the heat of summer, and as the air of that port also is disagreeable in the extreme, I had a most violent attack of a quartan ague in addition, and fresh maladies made inroads on my constitution. On several accounts therefore I could not endure to remain there, and was forced to seat myself in a litter and remove to a place called *Jarôn,* which is one of the dependencies of that port, and has streams of running water. In the villages of that district I passed some time. My illness was still severe; and from the numberless inconveniences which I suffered, the contemplation of the circumstances of the wretched inhabitants, and the importunate prayers and entreaties which they addressed to me, my situation became uncomfortable to my mind and feelings, and no possibility remained of patiently enduring it any longer. I had indeed no way to retire out of that province; but it came to my thoughts, that a part of the kingdom of Irân which I had not seen was Kermân, and that at present scarcely any person survived of the inhabitants of that country who were my friends and acquaintances: if I should change my dress, and repairing to that city or to the villages in the neighborhood, choose a corner for retirement, I might perchance pass a few days to my satisfaction. With this idea I made a change in my clothes and outward appearance, and with one or two of my servants set out for Kermân. At that time through the prevalence of my maladies and infirmities I had no longer the strength to bear retirement in an uninhabited place, so that having spent a few days in a small village I at last came to the city of Kermân, and seating myself in a solitary corner held no conversation with any one. By little and little some persons became intimate with me, and a great number who had formerly known me, saw and recognized me, until my residence in that city remained no longer a secret. In short, having stayed there some months, and the affairs of that ruined country being in utter confusion by reason of the insurrection of a body of the Balôch tribe and other accidents, I determined on departing towards the Holy Meshed; but as winter was come on, and the road to Khorasan lies over a very cold country, and as the violence of my quartan ague kept me extremely infirm and weak, the people interfered to prevent me.

XXII

I WAS in Kermân, when the news was spread abroad of the defeat of the Great Khan by the Turkish army, the main particulars of which are these.

The siege of Bagdad had been carried on for near a term of twelve months, and however much Ahmed Pasha desired to induce the Great Khan to an accommodation, his endeavors were unsuccessful. The grandees of the Othman empire sought a remedy, and considered how they should repair this untoward circumstance. Among their principal Omarâs was one named Tôpâl Pasha, who for years had commanded their troops on their European frontier, and in the battles which he had fought with the Franks had gained a high reputation for bravery and skillfulness. Him they appointed commander in the Arabian Irâk, and dispatched him with a numerous army to make war on the Great Khan. As soon as advice arrived of his near approach to Bagdad, the Great Khan, leaving a body of his troops to guard the environs of the castle of Bagdad, marched himself with the army of the Kizil Bâsh to his encounter, and in his haste to meet the Turks checked not his reins for the distance of thirty farsangs. The Turkish general had divided his army into two parts, and marched in the rear. His van, having halted on the banks of a rivulet, fortified in proper order their park of artillery, and being aware of the near approach of the Kizil Bâsh prepared themselves for battle. The Great Khan came up with them in the early part of the morning and instantly began the action. About an hour afterwards, the Turkish general arrived with the remainder of the army and his train in perfect order, marshaled into lines with the artillery drawn close around; and the engagement was enforced with the utmost violence. In that sandy desert no water was near except the stream which the Turks had taken possession of. In short, till noonday the fire of slaughter flamed, and the scene of action was crowded. Afterwards, from the heat of the sun and the prevalence of thirst, the infantry and artillery-men of the army of the Kizil Bâsh were unable to move. The Great Khan ordered wells to be dug. But at that season it was necessary to penetrate a great depth to find water. The con-

dition of the soldier was overcome with weakness, and the Turks making a powerful charge, overturned numbers of the riders and horses of the Kizil Bâsh to roll in the dust; and among them the horse of the Great Khan was one. At length, the troops having no longer any strength to stand their ground, turned their backs and fled on the road to Persian Irâk. To the detachment who had remained at Bagdad to maintain the siege of that place they sent a messenger to call them away; and these also retiring in the night departed for Persian Irâk.

Ahmed Pasha, now relieved from the blockade, began to employ himself in carrying supplies into the fort and storing his magazines. The general marched on to the environs of Bagdad; but unable to find a sufficiency of provisions in those parts for the support of his immense army, he turned aside in the direction of Kerkôyah and there halted. From this place he sent a detachment of his troops with some of the most respectable pashas by the road of Kordistân into Persian Irâk, to inform themselves of the state of things and to act as should be advisable at that juncture.

The Great Khân, checking the dispersion of his routed army, came to Hamadân. This was in the middle of the year one thousand one hundred and forty-six (A. D. 1733). In that city he had a treasure and stores previously collected; and applying himself to the distribution of largesses and favors among his troops and to the task of repairing their condition, at the same time that he brought up a body of men whom he constantly maintained in those parts, in the space of a month he had a fresh army completely accoutered, and being informed of the situation of the Turkish detachment just mentioned, he hastened from Hamadan to assault it. Falling like a sudden calamity on that troop of Turks he vigorously attacked them. The Turkish lines were soon broken by the onsets of the army of the Kizil Bâsh, and the commanders having been slain with a great number of their men, the rest left their artillery and baggage on the spot and betook themselves to flight.

The Great Khan drove forward towards Kerkôyah, and Tôpâl Pasha the Turkish commander marched out from that city with an innumerable army in order of battle. After

much fighting the Great Khan gained a complete victory, and a vast crowd of the Turkish armament fell slaughtered on the ground. One of the pioneers of the Kizil Bâsh cut off the head of Tôpâl Pasha and brought it to the Khan, by whose order the body also was found, and both being sewed together were sent with one of the captive Efendis to Bagdad, where they were buried in the cemetery of Abo Hanîfa. The Turks who escaped the sword, fled away in the most wretched plight; and the Great Khan having exercised all the severities of war in those countries, returned to Bagdad and again laid siege to that city.

XXIII

I WAS in Kerman when the defeat of the army of the Kizil Bâsh and the return of the Great Khan from Bagdad took place. It occurred to me that at this juncture it might be easy to reach Basra and Najaf Ashraf from the ports of Fârs. With this idea I set off for Bender Abbâsi. On the road I suffered great distress from my infirmity and from the violent fits of the quartan ague with which it was now sixteen months since I had been first attacked. At length I arrived at the Port, and finding that the voyage by sea to Basra was not yet practicable I there remained. A short time afterwards, the news came of the arrival of the Great Khan a second time before Bagdad and of the blockade of its inhabitants, and put a stop to the attainment of my object.

Mohammed Khan Balôch held sway over the province of Fârs, and had secretly spread a report of his intention to make the conquest of Ispahan and of Irâk, and to release Shah Tahmâsb from confinement. The commissioners of the Great Khan who were established in Ispahan and the surrounding districts, becoming alarmed at their inability to make resistance, represented his rebellion in the most exaggerated terms to the Great Khan, and described the danger of revolution as very great. The Khan had brought the affair of Bagdad near to a conclusion, and boundless fear had taken possession of Ahmed Pasha and the besieged, who had absolutely no longer any pretense or means to hold the fort: and about that time it would have been subdued, but for the events in Fârs and Irâk, which disturbed the Khan's mind. Think-

ing it no longer advisable to stay in those parts, he proposed articles of peace to Ahmed Pasha, and certain terms were agreed on, which the Pasha had never hoped to obtain, and now regarded as the greatest blessing.

The Khan, determined to repress the rebellion of Mohammed Khan, moved from Badgad with the quickness of lightning and the swiftness of the wind, and arrived at the town of Shôshter. The inhabitants of that place were publicly known to have given in their submission to Mohammed Khan, and were suspected to favor all his projects; and now after the execution of Abo El Fatah Khan, governor of that country, a great number of the Ayâns and the commonalty of the town were beheaded with the sword of chastisement; and it would be impossible to relate what contempt and disgrace, rapine and plunder, murder and captivity fell upon the inhabitants of that country.

The Great Khan dispatched a division of his army on the side of Fars, and followed also himself in the rear. Mohammed Khan on his part set out from Shiraz with what troops he had, in the intention to give him battle; and the meeting took place on the territory of Kohkiloyah. Mohammed Khan bravely stood his ground, and after some severe engagements he was near proving himself victorious. At that moment the report was spread of the approach of the Great Khan, who was coming up behind the van of his army. On this the soldiers of Fârs were frightened out of their minds, and as night was come on, the greatest part of them, concealing their shame behind the curtain of darkness, quitted their banners and dispersed. At daybreak scarcely any one remained with Mohammed Khan; only just round his tent were left a few of his own tribe and his relatives and servants, who did not amount to three thousand persons. Mohammed Khan had no alternative but to retire from the field, and being come in all haste to Lâr, he there left one of his tribe with a body of troops as governor, and turned his endeavors to collect together an army among the inhabitants of the warm countries, that he might again prepare himself for the combat.

XXIV

In Bender Abbâsi were some revenue officers of the Great Khân, and at that time some also came from Mohammed Khan; and each party exercised both insolence and oppression. One day a severe act of tyranny was practiced on some of the wretched inhabitants, and my distressed heart lost all patience at the sight of it. I was unable to remain quiet, and determined to quit the country. At that very time there was a vessel bound for the coast of Sind, and my resolution was fixed to go in it. This was the tenth day of Ramadzân the blessed, one thousand one hundred and forty-six. A captain of the English European Company, being informed of my intention, came to my lodging, and began to dissuade me from going to India. He enumerated some of the deformities in the qualities of that empire, and endeavored to prevail upon me to go to Europe. Though he importuned me very much on this subject, I would not consent; and on that very day leaving everything with an adieu behind me, I went alone on board the ship and sailed for Sind, or India, where I landed in one of the harbors of *Tatah*.

It was the beginning of the month Shavvâl when I arrived in that town. I did not wish that any person should know me in that country. But it was almost impossible for it to be so; and the very same day that I arrived at Tatah, a company of merchants of that town, who had seen me in Fars, became informed of my visit. A number of Persians also were residing there, most of whom were among my acquaintance. In short, this idea of remaining incognito was not realized in any city of that empire. Had it been possible, it would have been the means of removing much of my inconveniences and afflictions, and many of my innumerable griefs; and to the degree that I am, I should not be distressed with various anxiety and anguish, and with the feeling of utter helplessness. For in reality the hardship and pain of being alone and without friends have always been the companions and engrossers of my time from the day of my arrival here until the moment of writing this, which is the latter end of the year one thousand one hundred and fifty-four (A. D. 1742); yet in consequence of my celebrity, my body and soul have been worn out

with the occasional visits and hourly conversations of the various classes of worldly persons, who have become frequenters of my house. To explain the nature of their character and business and the multiplied features of their occasions and arguments would not be worth the labor. To me, who do not reckon the time of my residence in this country as a portion of my real life, the beginning of my arrival on the shores of this empire appears as it were the end of my age and vitality. During this period of eight years I have seen the whole country from Tatah to the town of Dehli, known also by the name of Shâh Jehân Abâd; and whatever I had heard or found in books of the qualities, circumstances, and situations of this empire and its inhabitants, all has passed under my view; and I have moreover witnessed and been made acquainted with that which I had not heard, and which had never occurred to my mind or imagination during all my previous life.

After a residence of more than two months in Tatah I reproached myself with my want of patience, and for my departure out of Persia, and repented of not choosing to travel to the kingdoms of Europe. But now the season of sea-voyages was past, and summer was come on; and to turn back to Persia or any other place it was necessary to wait for the next season. However in that town, from its want of water, its bad atmosphere, and the ugliness of its situation, qualities that form the common appearance of this whole empire, I found it impossible to rest. The people told me, "You must go to the city of Khodâ Abâd, which is one of the most populous of India, and is but a few days' journey hence. Much preparation is not required. You can go in a boat by the channel of the river which is made navigable from the neighborhood of Tatah to the ridge of that city." And so it was decreed that I should act.

Having embarked in a boat I arrived at *Khodâ Abâd.* Here from the violence of the heat and the unpleasantness of the air, the attacks of sorrow and my struggles with hardship and adversity, I was seized with a variety of severe diseases, and for the space of seven months I lay ill and abandoned to destitution of every friend. When some of my disorders abated, and I found it impossible for diverse rea-

sons to remain any longer in that place, a strange perplexity presented itself to my mind.

Finally, by the imperious decree of fate, I again embarked in a passage-boat and arrived in the city of *Bhakorr,* which is distant only a few days' journey on the bank of the same river Sind, or Indus. Altogether my nature had no agreement with the fashions and manners of this country, nor any power of patiently enduring them; and my friendlessness, want of means, and deficiency of ability were an additional source of desolation and grief. After a stay here of near a month, weakness and an alteration in my bodily constitution reduced me to an extreme, and having no other alternative I took my seat in a litter and departed in the direction of Moltân. Having performed the stages of that journey with excessive trouble, I arrived at a village near to the fortifications of that city and there halted.

The sight of these dominions became more and more hateful to me, and being continually in hope of my escape from them, I reconciled my mind to the incidents in the affairs of Persia, and bent my thoughts on my return thither. Its possibility however was not realized, and the length of my residence in this village, in solitude and want, approached to a term of two years, during which, amidst the anguish of my sufferings and the sourness of my humors, I sometimes employed myself in writing. To my scared wits and scattered senses this was the burden I gave my song:

Musician, strike up a tune, and Cup-bearer, give wine;
To Fortune give a fillip, and to the Sphere a repulsive answer.

And let it not be concealed, that the incidents and circumstances of the days of my stay in this country come not within the possibility of detail, and I should be ashamed to apply myself to the mention of even a summary of them, for they are absolutely unfit to be exposed and narrated; and were I to turn the reins of my pen to the description of the remaïning adventures of my own life, I should inevitably be led to depict some of the crimes and shameful things in the circumstances and qualities of this country, traced as it is with foulness, and trained to turpitude and brutality; and I should

grieve for my pen and paper. It is better that my readers should be left to picture to themselves the end and termination of my life, after the manner that I have described the beginning of my arrival in these regions.

This also should not remain concealed, that the whole affair of writing these pages, and my application to the task of drawing up an abstract of these adventures, was not the habit of my pen, nor the addiction of my mind; nor was it proper to my times, nor desired of my heart, nor familiar to my humble nature; but on the contrary my thought and opinion were strange to this propensity, and so cautious of it, that it never entered my mind. For, not to consider the unsuitableness of tale-telling with my circumstances and with the dignity and rank which I am bound to maintain, nor the smallness of the profit to be gained by descending to the meanness of such discourse, there were other prohibitions and blemishes attached to it, which rendered it unworthy of me. For some speeches may not improbably in the sight of the uninformed have an appearance of arising from a habit of ostentation, which is the main principle of the mean-principled, and in my opinion is the head and chief of all vices. But, praise and thanks be to God, my excessive deviation and declension from this propensity are so constitutional and have been carried to such a pass, as to have rather occasioned me obscurity in the world and fortuitous contempt. The true cause of writing this hasty sketch was, that at this time, which is the end of the year one thousand one hundred and fifty-four (A. D. 1742) sitting in a retired corner in the town of Dehli, I was a prey to grief and disease, and my temper and mind were distracted. Full to the lip with anguish, I was utterly abandoned by ease and quiet, and, amidst the vacation of all employment and the assaults of my inward grief, there was nothing to engage my serious attention, at the same time that all my nights were sleepless. Having, therefore, no other choice of amusement, I scribbled in the course of two nights, as far as this place, whatever came to the tongue of my pen of the summary of my adventures. May the reader fold up this epitome in the lappet of forgiveness and indulgence! It is a memorial of the accidents of unpropitious fortune, of distracted affairs, and of an afflicted head and heart. *To God*

is my complaint from refractory fortune, and from odious men, of little shame, but abundant misery. Some of them are learned, some ignorant; some are princely commanders, some simple fools; and they have taken their lust for their lord. Ruin be upon them and perdition! O God, pour out patience on us, and take to thyself our spirits, which are resigned to thy divine command.

May it please God not to prolong our abode in this world, whose value
Equals not in the eye of the understanding a grain of pulse.
The world turns away from ingenuous men with a frown,
But accommodates itself to the mean wretch, who submits to every indignity.
Heavy is fallen on us the weight of the mountain of sorrow which crushes our bosom;
May God grant patience to our hearts, which have been removed from their place of rest.

And now, as the relation of some of my adventures subsequent to my arrival in this country has involuntarily fallen from my pen, there will be no harm, should I briefly conclude the description of the remainder.

After I had been a long time resident in *Moltân* an extraordinary event occurred. The channel of the river Indus, which passes along that territory, overflowed in the heat of summer, and covered the streets and fields; and much destruction ensued to the buildings and dwelling-houses of the whole country. All intercourse and business was carried on by means of boats, and numbers of persons were drowned. When the season of harvest arrived, the inundation abated from the fields and villages, and some of the high grounds were left dry. The aged persons of the place said, that it had happened in like manner an age before, and that after the decrease of the waters, the disease of pestilence became common, and an immense number of the population perished. So it was this year. The people were attacked with a shaking fever, which was mostly intermittent; and very few recovered from this disorder, which absolutely admitted no remedy. They who applied medicines, and those who applied none, all alike perished; with the exception of a few who left the country, or in whose fate there was some delay. This calamity ex-

tended itself over a space of near five months; and I also was attacked with the full violence of the fever, in such sort, that not one of its symptoms escaped me. In the village where I dwelt not a single inhabitant remained on the spot, and in the depopulation which succeeded, even the most indispensable necessaries of life were not to be found. Of all things the most necessary was the attendance of a servant, who at this time was as rare as the phœnix; and if, by singularity, any person could be found in the commencement of the calamity, who was in health for the employment, after two or three days he fell sick, and was himself in need of a nurse and an attendant, till he died.

The hardship of living and of subsistence at all times in India is evident to every person who may have seen the rest of the kingdoms of the earth; and the causes and occasions of this hardship are more than can be numbered. In fact, all the situations and conditions of this country are condemned by fate to difficulty and bitterness of subsistence; but this sense of things is not revealed to its inhabitants, who, on the contrary, think themselves more independent for the blessings of life, and more prosperous and easy in their circumstances, than any nation in the world. These hardships indeed, and their tumultuous struggles for livelihood, are agreeable to their natures and digestible to their stomachs. They are not even regarded, and are proper to every condition. Subsistence in these countries without the union of three things is almost impossible. These are gold in plenty, violence the most exorbitant, and utter insensibility. But to render possible the assemblage of these three requisites the constitution of the country is extremely emaciated and destitute of vigor, and the meanest thing cannot be procured without labor, and perplexity, and expectation. That quantity of business which in other kingdoms may be expedited with one man of industrious ability, here with ten persons comes to no conclusion; and whatever increase is given to your servants and train of officers, and to your means and appliances of power, the posture of your affairs becomes but the more untoward and disordered.

From Moltân I had no choice but to set off in all that distress for *Lâhôr,* which city I reached with the greatest diffi-

culty. After some time the fever left me, and health reappeared. Having stayed here, I think, three months, I found it disagreeable for some reasons to remain in that city any longer, and I was forced by necessity to travel. The roads and highways of this whole empire are at all times unsafe and dangerous; and though I had an aversion to the idea, and felt disgust at the very thought of going to the town of Dehli, which is the residence of the Emperor of India, I could not help removing from Lâhôr and was carried to *Dehli* by the irresistible hand of fate. Here, after a stay of more than twelve months, I was disquieted by the attacks of anxious thought, and being firmly fixed in my intention of quitting this country, I returned to Lâhôr. The purpose of my mind was this, that having gone by the route of Kâbol to Candahâr, I would choose for my retirement in the province of Khorâsân any corner that might chance to suit me. Just about the time of my arrival in Lâhôr, the news came of the march of the army of the Kizil Bâsh to Candahâr, with intent to subdue and rescue it from the hands of the Afghans, and it was announced that they had already invested that fortress. A severe attack of illness also, which laid me on the bed of infirmity, was protracted to a considerable length; and the atmosphere having become heated, the season, in this country, of showers and heavy rain commenced, and my stay in Lâhôr concluded in being durable. I still was looking out for the news of the settlement of the affair of Candahâr, that so serious an obstacle might be removed from my line of road: but the siege of that town and the disturbances in those confines were prolonged to a great extent.

And now that a slight sketch of these events has accidentally fallen from my pen, which has no inclination any further to pursue the description of the residuary circumstances, it will abridge in a few words the conclusion of my own history. "God grant me a termination in paradise, and make my state in the last life better than in the first."

From the period of my arrival in Shâh Jehân Abâd until the date of this, which is the latter end of the year one thousand one hundred and fifty-four (A. D. 1742) three years and odd are past, that my time has been spent in this town, and that I have been continually in the thought of moving and

making my escape from this country, where I am fallen so utter a stranger: but from a multiplicity of insurmountable obstacles it has proved impossible. With the firm foot of patience and toleration I have measured three and fifty stations of the uneven road of life. My elemental frame, crushed by the assemblage of grief and diseases, and the powers of my soul, flagged and fallen away to indolence and neglect, have sunk the head within the breast-fold of lowliness. Now, weak and helpless, I sit listening for the note of departure. "If thou punishest me, I am one of thy servants; and if thou grantest me pardon, it is that thou art the indulgent, the merciful."

In my nature and disposition there was no principle of association with a strange country of men familiar with corruption and depravity; and as in coming I was not master of my own choice, nor yet am in going, I have done so much with the deepest blood of my heart:

Arise, HAZIN, from this lower world, arise!
From this moldering dung-hill, arise, like Christ, arise!
Thou art solitary in the midst of this strange assembly;
Arise from among them, thus alone arise!

"We pray to God for pardon, and that he change our sorrow into joy, for he is beneficent, he is generous."

END OF THE BOOK OF MOHAMMED ALI HAZIN

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

1706-1790

(INTRODUCTORY NOTE)

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

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BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

CHIEF OF AMERICAN TEACHERS AND PHILOSOPHERS

1706-1790

(INTRODUCTORY NOTE)

Franklin's autobiography is so celebrated, his career is so universally known, that little introduction is required for either. Franklin began writing the autobiography in 1771 when he was living in England as the representative of the protesting American colonies. He was then sixty-five years old and already a world-famous philosopher. Much however of his world-wide fame as a statesman was still to be attained.

The autobiography was addressed to Franklin's son, William, then Governor of New Jersey. A few friends who saw this first draught of the story were so impressed with its value that they urged Franklin to enlarge and continue it. He followed their advice, adding further sections to the work at several later periods. The last section was written in the closing year of his life and was left unfinished at his death.

Few manuscripts have gone through such a tempestuous career or faced such changing vicissitudes as did this of Franklin's. The Franklin family, like so many others of that tumultuous time in America, was divided by the Revolution. The son, William Franklin, upheld Britain's cause and was expelled from New Jersey. The first draught of the autobiography was among his papers, was captured by the Americans, and its history is unknown until it was restored to its author by a Pennsylvania Quaker friend, one of those who urged its continuance. The manuscript was again imperiled at Franklin's death when he entrusted the unfinished work to his grandson, Temple Franklin. This young man took the papers to England for the avowed purpose of securing better publication than America could supply. There is strong evidence, though not legally conclusive proof, that he was bribed by the British government to suppress the work. At any rate he delayed its publication for over a quarter of a century, and only issued it after an imperfect French edition had been published from another copy, and English editions had begun to appear translated from the French. Not only did Temple Franklin thus suppress his grandfather's great book as long as possible, but when in 1817 he finally published it, he introduced into it endless unauthorized changes. This was not known until almost half a century later when the

original manuscript was recovered by patriotic Americans and the unpardonable mutilation was discovered. The changes thus introduced by Temple Franklin, or with his approval, were chiefly verbal, the impertinent attempt of incompetence and vanity to polish up the elder Franklin's homely phrases. The present edition, as far as possible, restores the simple, vigorous wording of the original.

Many editions naturally have been and still are issued from some of the old imperfect forms of the manuscript. The editors of the present edition therefore guarantee that the following pages give the complete autobiography, unabridged, unamended, exactly (so far as men now can tell) as it came from the hands of its clear-thinking author.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

TWYFORD, *at the Bishop of St. Asaph's*,[1] 1771.

DEAR SON: I have ever had pleasure in obtaining any little anecdotes of my ancestors. You may remember the inquiries I made among the remains of my relations when you were with me in England, and the journey I undertook for that purpose. Imagining it may be equally agreeable to you to know the circumstances of my life, many of which you are yet unacquainted with, and expecting the enjoyment of a week's uninterrupted leisure in my present country retirement, I sit down to write them for you. To which I have besides some other inducements. Having emerged from the poverty and obscurity in which I was born and bred, to a state of affluence and some degree of reputation in the world, and having gone so far through life with a considerable share of felicity, the conducing means I made use of, which with the blessing of God so well succeeded, my posterity may like to know, as they may find some of them suitable to their own situations, and therefore fit to be imitated.

That felicity, when I reflected on it, has induced me sometimes to say, that were it offered to my choice, I should have no objection to a repetition of the same life from its beginning, only asking the advantages authors have in a second edition to correct some faults of the first. So I might, besides correcting the faults, change some sinister accidents and events of it for others more favorable. But though this were denied, I should still accept the offer. Since such a repetition

[1] The country-seat of Bishop Shipley, the good bishop, as Dr. Franklin used to style him.

is not to be expected, the next thing most like living one's life over again seems to be a recollection of that life, and to make that recollection as durable as possible by putting it down in writing.

Hereby, too, I shall indulge the inclination so natural in old men, to be talking of themselves and their own past actions; and I shall indulge it without being tiresome to others, who, through respect to age, might conceive themselves obliged to give me a hearing, since this may be read or not as any one pleases. And, lastly (I may as well confess it, since my denial of it will be believed by nobody), perhaps I shall a good deal gratify my own *vanity*. Indeed, I scarce ever heard or saw the introductory words, *"Without vanity I may say,"* etc., but some vain thing immediately followed. Most people dislike vanity in others, whatever share they have of it themselves; but I give it fair quarter wherever I meet with it, being persuaded that it is often productive of good to the possessor, and to others that are within his sphere of action; and therefore, in many cases, it would not be altogether absurd if a man were to thank God for his vanity among the other comforts of life.

And now I speak of thanking God, I desire with all humility to acknowledge that I owe the mentioned happiness of my past life to His kind providence, which led me to the means I used and gave them success. My belief of this induces me to *hope,* though I must not *presume,* that the same goodness will still be exercised toward me, in continuing that happiness, or enabling me to bear a fatal reverse, which I may experience as others have done; the complexion of my future fortune being known to Him only in whose power it is to bless to us even our afflictions.

The notes one of my uncles (who had the same kind of curiosity in collecting family anecdotes) once put into my hands, furnished me with several particulars relating to our ancestors. From these notes I learned that the family had lived in the same village, Ecton, in Northamptonshire, for three hundred years, and how much longer he knew not (perhaps from the time when the name of Franklin, that before was the name of an order of people, was assumed by them as a surname when others took surnames all over the kingdom),

on a freehold of about thirty acres, aided by the smith's business, which had continued in the family till his time, the eldest son being always bred to that business; a custom which he and my father followed as to their eldest sons. When I searched the registers at Ecton, I found an account of their births, marriages and burials from the year 1555 only, there being no registers kept in that parish at any time preceding. By that register I perceived that I was the youngest son of the youngest son for five generations back. My grandfather Thomas, who was born in 1598, lived at Ecton till he grew too old to follow business longer, when he went to live with his son John, a dyer at Banbury, in Oxfordshire, with whom my father served an apprenticeship. There my grandfather died and lies buried. We saw his gravestone in 1758. His eldest son Thomas lived in the house at Ecton, and left it with the land to his only child, a daughter, who, with her husband, one Fisher, of Wellingborough, sold it to Mr. Isted, now lord of the manor there. My grandfather had four sons that grew up, viz.: Thomas, John, Benjamin and Josiah. I will give you what account I can of them, at this distance from my papers, and if these are not lost in my absence, you will among them find many more particulars.

Thomas was bred a smith under his father; but, being ingenious, and encouraged in learning (as all my brothers were) by an Esquire Palmer, then the principal gentleman in that parish, he qualified himself for the business of scrivener; became a considerable man in the county; was a chief mover of all public-spirited undertakings for the county or town of Northampton, and his own village, of which many instances were related of him; and much taken notice of and patronized by the then Lord Halifax. He died in 1702, January 6, old style, just four years to a day before I was born. The account we received of his life and character from some old people at Ecton, I remember, struck you as something extraordinary, from its similarity to what you knew of mine. "Had he died on the same day," you said, "one might have supposed a transmigration."

John was bred a dyer, I believe of woolens. Benjamin was bred a silk dyer, serving an apprenticeship at London. He was an ingenious man. I remember him well, for when I was

a boy he came over to my father in Boston, and lived in the house with us some years. He lived to a great age. His grandson, Samuel Franklin, now lives in Boston. He left behind him two quarto volumes, MS., of his own poetry, consisting of little occasional pieces addressed to his friends and relations.

He had formed a short-hand of his own, which he taught me, but, never practicing it, I have now forgot it. I was named after this uncle, there being a particular affection between him and my father. He was very pious, a great attender of sermons of the best preachers, which he took down in his short-hand, and had with him many volumes of them. He was also much of a politician; too much, perhaps, for his station. There fell lately into my hands, in London, a collection he had made of all the principal pamphlets relating to public affairs, from 1641 to 1717; many of the volumes are wanting as appears by the numbering, but there still remain eight volumes in folio, and twenty-four in quarto and in octavo. A dealer in old books met with them, and knowing me by my sometimes buying of him, he brought them to me. It seems my uncle must have left them here when he went to America, which was above fifty years since. There are many of his notes in the margins.

This obscure family of ours was early in the Reformation, and continued Protestants through the reign of Queen Mary, when they were sometimes in danger of trouble on account of their zeal against popery. They had got an English Bible, and to conceal and secure it, it was fastened open with tapes under and within the cover of a joint-stool. When my great-great-grandfather read it to his family, he turned up the joint-stool upon his knees, turning over the leaves then under the tapes. One of the children stood at the door to give notice if he saw the apparitor coming, who was an officer of the spiritual court. In that case the stool was turned down again upon its feet, when the Bible remained concealed under it as before. This anecdote I had from my uncle Benjamin. The family continued all of the Church of England till about the end of Charles the Second's reign, when some of the ministers that had been outed for non-conformity holding conventicles in Northamptonshire, Benjamin and Josiah adhered to them,

and so continued all their lives: the rest of the family remained with the Episcopal Church.

Josiah, my father, married young, and carried his wife with three children into New England, about 1682. The conventicles having been forbidden by law, and frequently disturbed, induced some considerable men of his acquaintance to remove to that country, and he was prevailed with to accompany them thither, where they expected to enjoy their mode of religion with freedom. By the same wife he had four children more born there, and by a second wife ten more, in all seventeen; of which I remember thirteen sitting at one time at his table, who all grew up to be men and women, and married; I was the youngest son, and the youngest child but two, and was born in Boston, New England. My mother, the second wife, was Abiah Folger, daughter of Peter Folger, one of the first settlers of New England, of whom honorable mention is made by Cotton Mather, in his church history of that country, entitled Magnalia Christi Americana, as "*a godly, learned Englishman,*" if I remember the words rightly. I have heard that he wrote sundry small occasional pieces, but only one of them was printed, which I saw now many years since. It was written in 1675, in the home-spun verse of that time and people, and addressed to those then concerned in the government there. It was in favor of liberty of conscience, and in behalf of the Baptists, Quakers, and other sectaries that had been under persecution, ascribing the Indian wars, and other distresses that had befallen the country, to that persecution, as so many judgments of God to punish so heinous an offense, and exhorting a repeal of those uncharitable laws. The whole appeared to me as written with a good deal of decent plainness and manly freedom. The six concluding lines I remember, though I have forgotten the two first of the stanza; but the purport of them was, that his censures proceeded from good-will, and, therefore, he would be known to be the author.

"Because to be a libeler (says he)
I hate it with my heart;
From Sherburne town, where now I dwell
My name I do put here;
Without offense your real friend,
It is Peter Folgier."

My elder brothers were all put apprentices to different trades. I was put to the grammar-school at eight years of age, my father intending to devote me, as the tithe of his sons, to the service of the Church. My early readiness in learning to read (which must have been very early, as I do not remember when I could not read), and the opinion of all his friends, that I should certainly make a good scholar, encouraged him in this purpose of his. My uncle Benjamin, too, approved of it, and proposed to give me all his shorthand volumes of sermons, I suppose as a stock to set up with, if I would learn his character. I continued, however, at the grammar-school not quite one year, though in that time I had risen gradually from the middle of the class of that year to be the head of it, and farther was removed into the next class above it, in order to go with that into the third at the end of the year. But my father, in the meantime, from a view of the expense of a college education, which having so large a family he could not well afford, and the mean living many so educated were afterwards able to obtain—reasons that he gave to his friends in my hearing—altered his first intention, took me from the grammar-school, and sent me to a school for writing and arithmetic, kept by a then famous man, Mr. George Brownell, very successful in his profession generally, and that by mild, encouraging methods. Under him I acquired fair writing pretty soon, but I failed in the arithmetic, and made no progress in it. At ten years old I was taken home to assist my father in his business, which was that of a tallow-chandler and soap-boiler; a business he was not bred to, but had assumed on his arrival in New England, and on finding his dying trade would not maintain his family, being in little request. Accordingly, I was employed in cutting wick for the candles, filling the dipping mold and the molds for cast candles, attending the shop, going of errands, etc.

I disliked the trade, and had a strong inclination for the sea, but my father declared against it; however, living near the water, I was much in and about it, learned early to swim well, and to manage boats; and when in a boat or canoe with other boys, I was commonly allowed to govern, especially in any case of difficulty; and upon other occasions I was generally a leader among the boys, and sometimes led them into

scrapes, of which I will mention one instance, as it shows an early public spirit, though not then justly conducted.

There was a salt-marsh that bounded part of the mill-pond, on the edge of which, at high water, we used to stand to fish for minnows. By much trampling, we had made it a mere quagmire. My proposal was to build a wharf there fit for us to stand upon, and I showed my comrades a large heap of stones, which were intended for a new house near the marsh, and which would very well suit our purpose. Accordingly, in the evening, when the workmen were gone, I assembled a number of my play-fellows, and working with them diligently like so many emmets, sometimes two or three to a stone, we brought them all away and built our little wharf. The next morning the workmen were surprised at missing the stones, which were found in our wharf. Inquiry was made after the removers; we were discovered and complained of; several of us were corrected by our fathers; and, though I pleaded the usefulness of the work, mine convinced me that nothing was useful which was not honest.

I think you may like to know something of his person and character. He had an excellent constitution of body, was of middle stature, but well set, and very strong; he was ingenious, could draw prettily, was skilled a little in music, and had a clear pleasing voice, so that when he played psalm tunes on his violin and sung withal, as he sometimes did in an evening after the business of the day was over, it was extremely agreeable to hear. He had a mechanical genius too, and, on occasion, was very handy in the use of other tradesmen's tools; but his great excellence lay in a sound understanding and solid judgment in prudential matters, both in private and public affairs. In the latter, indeed, he was never employed, the numerous family he had to educate and the straitness of his circumstances keeping him close to his trade; but I remember well his being frequently visited by leading people, who consulted him for his opinion in affairs of the town or of the church he belonged to, and showed a good deal of respect for his judgment and advice: he was also much consulted by private persons about their affairs when any difficulty occurred, and frequently chosen an arbitrator between contending parties. At his table he liked to have, as

often as he could, some sensible friend or neighbor to converse with, and always took care to start some ingenious or useful topic for discourse, which might tend to improve the minds of his children. By this means he turned our attention to what was good, just, and prudent in the conduct of life; and little or no notice was ever taken of what related to the victuals on the table, whether it was well or ill dressed, in or out of season, of good or bad flavor, preferable or inferior to this or that other thing of the kind, so that I was brought up in such a perfect inattention to those matters as to be quite indifferent what kind of food was set before me, and so unobservant of it, that to this day if I am asked I can scarce tell a few hours after dinner what I dined upon. This has been a convenience to me in traveling, where my companions have been sometimes very unhappy for want of a suitable gratification of their more delicate, because better instructed, tastes and appetites.

My mother had likewise an excellent constitution: she suckled all her ten children. I never knew either my father or mother to have any sickness but that of which they died, he at 89, and she at 85 years of age. They lie buried together at Boston, where I some years since placed a marble over their grave, with this inscription:

JOSIAH FRANKLIN,
and
ABIAH his wife,
lie here interred.
They lived lovingly together in wedlock
fifty-five years.
Without an estate, or any gainful employment,
By constant labor and industry,
with God's blessing,
They maintained a large family
comfortably,
and brought up thirteen children
and seven grandchildren
reputably.
From this instance, reader,
Be encouraged to diligence in thy calling,
And distrust not Providence.
He was a pious and prudent man;
She, a discrett and virtuous woman.
Their youngest son,
In filial regard to their memory,
Places this stone.
J. F. born 1655, died 1744, Ætat 89.
A. F. born 1667, died 1752, —— 85.

By my rambling digressions I perceive myself to be grown old. I us'd to write more methodically. But one does not dress for private company as for a public ball. 'Tis perhaps only negligence.

To return: I continued thus employed in my father's business for two years, that is, till I was twelve years old; and my brother John, who was bred to that business, having left my father, married, and set up for himself at Rhode Island, there was all appearance that I was destined to supply his place, and become a tallow-chandler. But my dislike to the trade continuing, my father was under apprehensions that if he did not find one for me more agreeable, I should break away and get to sea, as his son Josiah had done, to his great vexation. He therefore sometimes took me to walk with him, and see joiners, bricklayers, turners, braziers, etc., at their work, that he might observe my inclination, and endeavor to fix it on some trade or other on land. It has ever since been a pleasure to me to see good workmen handle their tools; and it has been useful to me, having learned so much by it as to be able to do little jobs myself in my house when a workman could not readily be got, and to construct little machines for my experiments, while the intention of making the experiment was fresh and warm in my mind. My father at last fixed upon the cutler's trade, and my uncle Benjamin's son Samuel, who was bred to that business in London, being about that time established in Boston, I was sent to be with him some time on liking. But his expectations of a fee with me displeasing my father, I was taken home again.

From a child I was fond of reading, and all the little money that came into my hands was ever laid out in books. Pleased with the Pilgrim's Progress, my first collection was of John Bunyan's works in separate little volumes. I afterward sold them to enable me to buy R. Burton's Historical Collections; they were small chapmen's books, and cheap, 40 or 50 in all. My father's little library consisted chiefly of books in polemic divinity, most of which I read, and have since often regretted that, at a time when I had such a thirst for knowledge, more proper books had not fallen in my way, since it was now resolved I should not be a clergyman. Plutarch's Lives there was in which I read abundantly, and I still think that time

spent to great advantage. There was also a book of De Foe's, called an Essay on Projects, and another of Dr. Mather's, called Essays to do Good, which perhaps gave me a turn of thinking that had an influence on some of the principal future events of my life.

This bookish inclination at length determined my father to make me a printer, though he had already one son (James) of that profession. In 1717 my brother James returned from England with a press and letters to set up his business in Boston. I liked it much better than that of my father, but still had a hankering for the sea. To prevent the apprehended effect of such an inclination, my father was impatient to have me bound to my brother. I stood out some time, but at last was persuaded, and signed the indentures when I was yet but twelve years old. I was to serve as an apprentice till I was twenty-one years of age, only I was to be allowed journeyman's wages during the last year. In a little time I made great proficiency in the business, and became a useful hand to my brother. I now had access to better books. An acquaintance with the apprentices of booksellers enabled me sometimes to borrow a small one, which I was careful to return soon and clean. Often I sat up in my room reading the greatest part of the night, when the book was borrowed in the evening and to be returned early in the morning, lest it should be missed or wanted.

And after some time an ingenious tradesman, Mr. Matthew Adams, who had a pretty collection of books, and who frequented our printing-house, took notice of me, invited me to his library, and very kindly lent me such books as I chose to read. I now took a fancy to poetry, and made some little pieces; my brother, thinking it might turn to account, encouraged me, and put me on composing occasional ballads. One was called *The Lighthouse Tragedy*, and contained an account of the drowning of Captain Worthilake, with his two daughters: the other was a sailor's song, on the taking of *Teach* (or Blackbeard) the pirate. They were wretched stuff, in the Grub-street-ballad style; and when they were printed he sent me about the town to sell them. The first sold wonderfully, the event being recent, having made a great noise. This flattered my vanity; but my father discouraged me by ridicul-

ing my performances, and telling me verse-makers were generally beggars. So I escaped being a poet, most probably a very bad one; but as prose writing has been of great use to me in the course of my life, and was a principal means of my advancement, I shall tell you how, in such a situation, I acquired what little ability I have in that way.

There was another bookish lad in the town, John Collins by name, with whom I was intimately acquainted. We sometimes disputed, and very fond we were of argument, and very desirous of confuting one another, which disputatious turn, by the way, is apt to become a very bad habit, making people often extremely disagreeable in company by the contradiction that is necessary to bring it into practice; and thence, besides souring and spoiling the conversation, is productive of disgusts and, perhaps enmities where you may have occasion for friendship. I had caught it by reading my father's books of dispute about religion. Persons of good sense, I have since observed, seldom fall into it, except lawyers, university men, and men of all sorts that have been bred at Edinborough.

A question was once, somehow or other, started between Collins and me, of the propriety of educating the female sex in learning, and their abilities for study. He was of opinion that it was improper, and that they were naturally unequal to it. I took the contrary side, perhaps a little for dispute's sake. He was naturally more eloquent, had a ready plenty of words; and sometimes, as I thought, bore me down more by his fluency than by the strength of his reasons. As we parted without settling the point, and were not to see one another again for some time, I sat down to put my arguments in writing, which I copied fair and sent to him. He answered, and I replied. Three or four letters of a side had passed, when my father happened to find my papers and read them. Without entering into the discussion, he took occasion to talk to me about the manner of my writing; observed that, though I had the advantage of my antagonist in correct spelling and pointing (which I ow'd to the printing-house), I fell far short in elegance of expression, in method and in perspicuity, of which he convinced me by several instances. I saw the justice of his remarks, and thence grew more attentive to the manner in writing, and determined to endeavor at improvement.

About this time I met with an odd volume of the *Spectator*. It was the third. I had never before seen any of them. I bought it, read it over and over, and was much delighted with it. I thought the writing excellent, and wished, if possible, to imitate it. With this view I took some of the papers, and, making short hints of the sentiment in each sentence, laid them by a few days, and then, without looking at the book, try'd to complete the papers again, by expressing each hinted sentiment at length, and as fully as it had been expressed before, in any suitable words that should come to hand. Then I compared my *Spectator* with the original, discovered some of my faults, and corrected them. But I found I wanted a stock of words, or a readiness in recollecting and using them, which I thought I should have acquired before that time if I had gone on making verses; since the continual occasion for words of the same import, but of different length, to suit the measure, or of different sound for the rhyme, would have laid me under a constant necessity of searching for variety, and also have tended to fix that variety in my mind, and make me master of it. Therefore I took some of the tales and turned them into verse; and, after a time, when I had pretty well forgotten the prose, turned them back again. I also sometimes jumbled my collections of hints into confusion, and after some weeks endeavored to reduce them into the best order, before I began to form the full sentences and complete the paper. This was to teach me method in the arrangement of thoughts. By comparing my work afterwards with the original, I discovered many faults and amended them; but I sometimes had the pleasure of fancying that, in certain particulars of small import, I had been lucky enough to improve the method or the language, and this encouraged me to think I might possibly in time come to be a tolerable English writer, of which I was extremely ambitious. My time for these exercises and for reading was at night, after work or before it began in the morning, or on Sundays, when I contrived to be in the printing-house alone, evading as much as I could the common attendance on public worship which my father used to exact on me when I was under his care, and which indeed I still thought a duty, though I could not, as it seemed to me, afford time to practice it.

When about 16 years of age I happened to meet with a book, written by one Tryon, recommending a vegetable diet. I determined to go into it. My brother, being yet unmarried, did not keep house, but boarded himself and his apprentices in another family. My refusing to eat flesh occasioned an inconveniency, and I was frequently chid for my singularity. I made myself acquainted with Tryon's manner of preparing some of his dishes, such as boiling potatoes or rice, making hasty pudding, and a few others, and then proposed to my brother, that if he would give me, weekly, half the money he paid for my board, I would board myself. He instantly agreed to it, and I presently found that I could save half what he paid me. This was an additional fund for buying books. But I had another advantage in it. My brother and the rest going from the printing-house to their meals, I remained there alone, and, dispatching presently my light repast, which often was no more than a biscuit or a slice of bread, a handful of raisins or a tart from the pastry-cook's, and a glass of water, had the rest of the time till their return for study, in which I made the greater progress, from that greater clearness of head and quicker apprehension which usually attend temperance in eating and drinking.

And now it was that, being on some occasion made asham'd of my ignorance in figures, which I had twice failed in learning when at school, I took Cocker's book of Arithmetic, and went through the whole by myself with great ease. I also read Seller's and Shermy's books of Navigation, and became acquainted with the little geometry they contain; but never proceeded far in that science. And I read about this time Locke on *Human Understanding,* and the *Art of Thinking,* by Messrs. du Port Royal.

While I was intent on improving my language, I met with an English grammar (I think it was Greenwood's), at the end of which there were two little sketches of the arts of rhetoric and logic, the latter finishing with a specimen of a dispute in the Socratic method; and soon after I procur'd Xenophon's Memorable Things of Socrates, wherein there are many instances of the same method. I was charm'd with it, adopted it, dropped my abrupt contradiction and positive argumentation, and put on the humble inquirer and doubter.

And being then, from reading Shaftesbury and Collins, become a real doubter in many points of our religious doctrine, I found this method safest for myself and very embarrassing to those against whom I used it; therefore I took a delight in it, practic'd it continually, and grew very artful and expert in drawing people, even of superior knowledge, into concessions, the consequences of which they did not foresee, entangling them in difficulties out of which they could not extricate themselves, and so obtaining victories that neither myself nor my cause always deserved. I continu'd this method some few years, but gradually left it, retaining only the habit of expressing myself in terms of modest diffidence; never using, when I advanced anything that may possibly be disputed, the words *certainly, undoubtedly,* or any others that give the air of positiveness to an opinion; but rather say, I conceive or apprehend a thing to be so and so; it appears to me, or *I should think it so or so,* for such and such reasons; or *I imagine it to be so;* or *it is so, if I am not mistaken.* This habit, I believe, has been of great advantage to me when I have had occasion to inculcate my opinions, and persuade men into measures that I have been from time to time engag'd in promoting; and, as the chief ends of conversation are to *inform* or to be *informed,* to *please* or to *persuade,* I wish well-meaning, sensible men would not lessen their power of doing good by a positive, assuming manner, that seldom fails to disgust, tends to create opposition, and to defeat every one of those purposes for which speech was given to us, to wit, giving or receiving information or pleasure. For, if you would inform, a positive and dogmatical manner in advancing your sentiments may provoke contradiction and prevent a candid attention. If you wish information and improvement from the knowledge of others, and yet at the same time express yourself as firmly fix'd in your present opinions, modest, sensible men, who do not love disputation, will probably leave you undisturbed in the possession of your error. And by such a manner, you can seldom hope to recommend yourself in *pleasing* your hearers, or to persuade those whose concurrence you desire. Pope says, judiciously:

"Men should be taught as if you taught them not,
And things unknown propos'd as things forgot;"

farther recommending to us

"To speak, tho' sure, with seeming diffidence."

And he might have coupled with this line that which he has coupled with another, I think, less properly,

"For want of modesty is want of sense."

If you ask, Why less properly? I must repeat the lines,

"Immodest words admit of no defense,
For want of modesty is want of sense."

Now, is not *want of sense* (where a man is so unfortunate as to want it) some apology for his *want of modesty?* and would not the lines stand more justly thus?

"Immodest words admit *but* this defense,
That want of modesty is want of sense."

This, however, I should submit to better judgments.

My brother had, in 1720 or 1721, begun to print a newspaper. It was the second that appeared in America, and was called the New England Courant. The only one before it was the Boston News-Letter. I remember his being dissuaded by some of his friends from the undertaking, as not likely to succeed, one newspaper being, in their judgment, enough for America. At this time (1771) there are not less than five-and-twenty. He went on, however, with the undertaking, and after having worked in composing the types and printing off the sheets, I was employed to carry the papers through the streets to the customers.

He had some ingenious men among his friends, who amus'd themselves by writing little pieces for this paper, which gain'd it credit and made it more in demand, and these gentlemen often visited us. Hearing their conversations, and their accounts of the approbation their papers were received with, I was excited to try my hand among them; but, being still a boy, and suspecting that my brother would object to printing anything of mine in his paper if he knew it to be mine, I contrived to disguise my hand, and, writing an anonymous paper, I put it in at night under the

door of the printing-house. It was found in the morning, and communicated to his writing friends when they call'd in as usual. They read it, commented on it in my hearing, and I had the exquisite pleasure of finding it met with their approbation, and that, in their different guesses at the author, none were named but men of some character among us for learning and ingenuity. I suppose now that I was rather lucky in my judges, and that perhaps they were not really so very good ones as I then esteem'd them.

Encourag'd, however, by this, I wrote and convey'd in the same way to the press several more papers which were equally approv'd; and I kept my secret till my small fund of sense for such performances was pretty well exhausted, and then I discover'd it, when I began to be considered a little more by my brother's acquaintance, and in a manner that did not quite please him, as he thought, probably with reason, that it tended to make me too vain. And, perhaps, this might be one occasion of the differences that we began to have about this time. Though a brother, he considered himself as my master, and me as his apprentice, and, accordingly, expected the same services from me as he would from another, while I thought he demean'd me too much in some he requir'd of me, who from a brother expected more indulgence. Our disputes were often brought before our father, and I fancy I was either generally in the right, or else a better pleader, because the judgment was generally in my favor. But my brother was passionate, and had often beaten me, which I took extremely amiss; and, thinking my apprenticeship very tedious, I was continually wishing for some opportunity of shortening it, which at length offered in a manner unexpected.[2]

One of the pieces in our newspaper on some political point, which I have now forgotten, gave offense to the Assembly. He was taken up, censur'd, and imprison'd for a month, by the speaker's warrant, I suppose, because he would not discover his author. I too was taken up and examin'd before the council; but, though I did not give them any satis-

[2] I fancy his harsh and tyrannical treatment of me might be a means of impressing me with that aversion to arbitrary power that has stuck to me through my whole life.—B. F.

faction, they content'd themselves with admonishing me, and dismissed me, considering me, perhaps, as an apprentice, who was bound to keep his master's secrets.

During my brother's confinement, which I resented a good deal, notwithstanding our private differences, I had the management of the paper; and I made bold to give our rulers some rubs in it, which my brother took very kindly, while others began to consider me in an unfavorable light, as a young genius that had a turn for libeling and satire. My brother's discharge was accompany'd with an order of the House (a very odd one), that *"James Franklin should no longer print the paper called the New England Courant."*

There was a consultation held in our printing-house among his friends, what he should do in this case. Some proposed to evade the order by changing the name of the paper; but my brother, seeing inconveniences in that, it was finally concluded on as a better way, to let it be printed for the future under the name of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN; and to avoid the censure of the Assembly, that might fall on him as still printing it by his apprentice, the contrivance was that my old indenture should be return'd to me, with a full discharge on the back of it, to be shown on occasion, but to secure to him the benefit of my service, I was to sign new indentures for the remainder of the term, which were to be kept private. A very flimsy scheme it was; however, it was immediately executed, and the paper went on accordingly, under my name for several months.

At length, a fresh difference arising between my brother and me, I took upon me to assert my freedom, presuming that he would not venture to produce the new indentures. It was not fair in me to take this advantage, and this I therefore reckon one of the first errata of my life; but the unfairness of it weighed little with me, when under the impressions of resentment for the blows his passion too often urged him to bestow upon me, though he was otherwise not an ill-natur'd man: perhaps I was too saucy and provoking.

When he found I would leave him, he took care to prevent my getting employment in any other printing-house of the town, by going round and speaking to every master, who accordingly refus'd to give me work. I then thought of going

to New York, as the nearest place where there was a printer; and I was rather inclin'd to leave Boston when I reflected that I had already made myself a little obnoxious to the governing party, and, from the arbitrary proceedings of the Assembly in my brother's case, it was likely I might, if I stay'd, soon bring myself into scrapes; and farther, that my indiscreet disputations about religion began to make me pointed at with horror by good people as an infidel or atheist. I determin'd on the point, but my father now siding with my brother, I was sensible that, if I attempted to go openly, means would be used to prevent me. My friend Collins, therefore, undertook to manage a little for me. He agreed with the captain of a New York sloop for my passage, under the notion of my being a young acquaintance of his, that had got a naughty girl with child, whose friends would compel me to marry her, and therefore I could not appear or come away publicly. So I sold some of my books to raise a little money, was taken on board privately, and as we had a fair wind, in three days I found myself in New York, near 300 miles from home, a boy of but 17, without the least recommendation to, or knowledge of any person in the place, and with very little money in my pocket.

My inclinations for the sea were by this time worn out, or I might now have gratify'd them. But, having a trade, and supposing myself a pretty good workman, I offer'd my service to the printer in the place, old Mr. William Bradford, who had been the first printer in Pennsylvania, but removed from thence upon the quarrel of George Keith. He could give me no employment, having little to do, and help enough already; but says he, "My son at Philadelphia has lately lost his principal hand, Aquila Rose, by death; if you go thither, I believe he may employ you." Philadelphia was a hundred miles further; I set out, however, in a boat for Amboy, leaving my chest and things to follow me round by sea.

In crossing the bay, we met with a squall that tore our rotten sails to pieces, prevented our getting into the Kill, and drove us upon Long Island. In our way, a drunken Dutchman, who was a passenger too, fell overboard; when he was sinking, I reached through the water to his shock pate,

and drew him up, so that we got him in again. His ducking sobered him a little, and he went to sleep, taking first out of his pocket a book, which he desir'd I would dry for him. It proved to be my old favorite author, Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, in Dutch, finely printed on good paper, with copper cuts, a dress better than I had ever seen it wear in its own language. I have since found that it has been translated into most of the languages of Europe, and suppose it has been more generally read than any other book, except perhaps the Bible. Honest John was the first that I know of who mix'd narration and dialogue; a method of writing very engaging to the reader, who in the most interesting parts finds himself, as it were, brought into the company and present at the discourse. De Foe in his Crusoe, his Moll Flanders, Religious Courtship, Family Instructor, and other pieces, has imitated it with success; and Richardson has done the same in his Pamela, etc.

When we drew near the island, we found it was at a place where there could be no landing, there being a great surf on the stony beach. So we dropped anchor, and swung round towards the shore. Some people came down to the water edge and hallow'd to us, as we did to them; but the wind was so high, and the surf so loud, that we could not hear so as to understand each other. There were canoes on the shore, and we made signs, and hallow'd that they should fetch us; but they either did not understand us, or thought it impracticable, so they went away, and night coming on, we had no remedy but to wait till the wind should abate; and, in the meantime, the boatman and I concluded to sleep, if we could; and so crowded into the scuttle, with the Dutchman, who was still wet, and the spray beating over the head of our boat, leak'd through to us, so that we were soon almost as wet as he. In this manner we lay all night, with very little rest; but, the wind abating the next day, we made a shift to reach Amboy before night, having been thirty hours on the water, without victuals, or any drink but a bottle of filthy rum, and the water we sail'd on being salt.

In the evening I found myself very feverish, and went into bed; but, having read somewhere that cold water drunk plentifully was good for a fever, I follow'd the prescription,

sweat plentiful most of the night, my fever left me, and in the morning, crossing the ferry, I proceeded on my journey on foot, having fifty miles to Burlington, where I was told I should find boats that would carry me the rest of the way to Philadelphia.

It rained very hard all the day; I was thoroughly soak'd, and by noon a good deal tired; so I stopp'd at a poor inn, where I stay'd all night, beginning now to wish that I had never left home. I cut so miserable a figure, too, that I found, by the questions ask'd me, I was suspected to be some runaway servant, and in danger of being taken up on that suspicion. However, I proceeded the next day, and got in the evening to an inn, within eight or ten miles of Burlington, kept by one Dr. Brown. He entered into conversation with me while I took some refreshment, and, finding I had read a little, became very sociable and friendly. Our acquaintance continu'd as long as he liv'd. He had been, I imagine, an itinerant doctor, for there was no town in England, or country in Europe, of which he could not give a very particular account. He had some letters, and was ingenious, but much of an unbeliever, and wickedly undertook, some years after, to travesty the Bible in doggerel verse, as Cotton had done Virgil. By this means he set many of the facts in a very ridiculous light, and might have hurt weak minds if his work had been published; but it never was.

At his house I lay that night, and the next morning reach'd Burlington, but had the mortification to find that the regular boats were gone a little before my coming, and no other expected to go before Tuesday, this being Saturday; wherefore I returned to an old woman in the town, of whom I had bought gingerbread to eat on the water, and ask'd her advice. She invited me to lodge at her house till a passage by water should offer; and being tired with my foot traveling, I accepted the invitation. She understanding I was a printer, would have had me stay at that town and follow my business, being ignorant of the stock necessary to begin with. She was very hospitable, gave me a dinner of ox-cheek with great good will, accepting only of a pot of ale in return; and I thought myself fixed till Tuesday should come. However, walking in the evening by the side of the river, a boat came

by, which I found was going towards Philadelphia, with several people in her. They took me in, and, as there was no wind, we row'd all the way; and about midnight, not having yet seen the city, some of the company were confident we must have passed it, and would row no farther; the others knew not where we were; so we put toward the shore, got into a creek, landed near an old fence, with the rails of which we made a fire, the night being cold, in October, and there we remained till daylight. Then one of the company knew the place to be Cooper's Creek, a little above Philadelphia, which we saw as soon as we got out of the creek, and arriv'd there about eight or nine o'clock on the Sunday morning, and landed at the Market-street wharf.

I have been the more particular in this description of my journey, and shall be so of my first entry into that city, that you may in your mind compare such unlikely beginnings with the figure I have since made there. I was in my working dress, my best clothes being to come round by sea. I was dirty from my journey; my pockets were stuff'd out with shirts and stockings, and I knew no soul nor where to look for lodging. I was fatigued with traveling, rowing, and want of rest, I was very hungry; and my whole stock of cash consisted of a Dutch dollar, and about a shilling in copper. The latter I gave the people of the boat for my passage, who at first refus'd it, on account of my rowing; but I insisted on their taking it. A man being sometimes more generous when he has but a little money than when he has plenty, perhaps through fear of being thought to have but little.

Then I walked up the street, gazing about till near the market-house I met a boy with bread. I had made many a meal on bread, and, inquiring where he got it, I went immediately to the baker's he directed me to, in Second-street, and ask'd for biscuit, intending such as we had in Boston; but they, it seems, were not made in Philadelphia. Then I asked for a three-penny loaf, and was told they had none such. So not considering or knowing the difference of money, and the greater cheapness nor the names of his bread, I bade him give me three-penny worth of any sort. He gave me, accordingly, three great puffy rolls. I was surpris'd at the quantity, but took it, and, having no room in my pockets, walk'd

off with a roll under each arm, and eating the other. Thus I went up Market-street as far as Fourth-street, passing by the door of Mr. Read, my future wife's father; when she, standing at the door, saw me, and thought I made, as I certainly did, a most awkward, ridiculous appearance. Then I turned and went down Chestnut-street and part of Walnut-street, eating my roll all the way, and, coming round, found myself again at Market-street wharf, near the boat I came in, to which I went for a draught of the river water; and, being filled with one of my rolls, gave the other two to a woman and her child that came down the river in the boat with us, and were waiting to go farther.

Thus refreshed, I walked again up the street, which by this time had many clean-dressed people in it, who were all walking the same way. I joined them, and thereby was led into the great meeting-house of the Quakers near the market. I sat down among them, and, after looking round awhile and hearing nothing said, being very drowsy through labor and want of rest the preceding night, I fell fast asleep, and continued so till the meeting broke up, when one was kind enough to rouse me. This was, therefore, the first house I was in, or slept in, in Philadelphia.

Walking down again toward the river, and, looking in the faces of people, I met a young Quaker man, whose countenance I lik'd, and, accosting him, requested he would tell me where a stranger could get lodging. We were then near the sign of the Three Mariners. "Here," says he, "is one place that entertains strangers, but it is not a reputable house; if thee wilt walk with me, I'll show thee a better." He brought me to the Crooked Billet in Water-street. Here I got a dinner; and, while I was eating it, several sly questions were asked me, as it seemed to be suspected from my youth and appearance, that I might be some runaway.

After dinner, my sleepiness return'd, and being shown to a bed, I lay down without undressing, and slept till six in the evening, was call'd to supper, went to bed again very early, and slept soundly till next morning. Then I made myself as tidy as I could, and went to Andrew Bradford the printer's. I found in the shop the old man his father, whom I had seen at New York, and who, traveling on horseback, had got to

Philadelphia before me. He introduc'd me to his son, who receiv'd me civilly, gave me a breakfast, but told me he did not at present want a hand, being lately suppli'd with one; but there was another printer in town, lately set up, one Keimer, who, perhaps, might employ me; if not, I should be welcome to lodge at his house, and he would give me a little work to do now and then till fuller business should offer.

The old gentleman said he would go with me to the new printer; and when we found him, "Neighbor," says Bradford, "I have brought to see you a young man of your business; perhaps you may want such a one." He ask'd me a few questions, put a composing stick in my hand to see how I work'd, and then said he would employ me soon, though he had just then nothing for me to do; and, taking old Bradford, whom he had never seen before, to be one of the town's people that had a good will for him, enter'd into a conversation on his present undertaking and prospects; while Bradford, not discovering that he was the other printer's father, on Keimer's saying he expected soon to get the greatest part of the business into his own hands, drew him on by artful questions, and starting little doubts, to explain all his views, what interest he rely'd on, and in what manner he intended to proceed. I, who stood by and heard all, saw immediately that one of them was a crafty old sophister, and the other a mere novice. Bradford left me with Keimer, who was greatly surprised when I told him who the old man was.

Keimer's printing-house, I found, consisted of an old shattered press, and one small, worn-out font of English, which he was then using himself, composing an Elegy on Aquila Rose, before mentioned, an ingenious young man, of excellent character, much respected in the town, clerk of the Assembly, and a pretty poet. Keimer made verses too, but very indifferently. He could not be said to write them, for his manner was to compose them in the types directly out of his head. So there being no copy, but one pair of cases, and the Elegy likely to require all the letter, no one could help him. I endeavored to put his press (which he had not yet us'd, and of which he understood nothing) into order fit to be work'd with; and, promising to come and print off his Elegy as soon as he should have got it ready, I return'd to

Bradford's, who gave me a little job to do for the present, and there I lodged and dieted. A few days after, Keimer sent for me to print off the Elegy. And now he had got another pair of cases, and a pamphlet to reprint, on which he set me to work.

These two printers I found poorly qualified for their business. Bradford had not been bred to it, and was very illiterate; and Keimer, though something of a scholar, was a mere compositor, knowing nothing of presswork. He had been one of the French prophets, and could act their enthusiastic agitations. At this time he did not profess any particular religion, but something of all on occasion; was very ignorant of the world, and had, as I afterward found, a good deal of the knave in his composition. He did not like my lodging at Bradford's while I work'd with him. He had a house, indeed, but without furniture, so he could not lodge me; but he got me a lodging at Mr. Read's, before mentioned, who was the owner of his house; and, my chest and clothes being come by this time, I made rather a more respectable appearance in the eyes of Miss Read than I had done when she first happened to see me eating my roll in the street.

I began now to have some acquaintance among the young people of the town, that were lovers of reading, with whom I spent my evenings very pleasantly; and gaining money by my industry and frugality, I lived very agreeably, forgetting Boston as much as I could, and not desiring that any there should know where I resided, except my friend Collins, who was in my secret, and kept it when I wrote to him. At length, an incident happened that sent me back again much sooner than I had intended. I had a brother-in-law, Robert Holmes, master of a sloop that traded between Boston and Delaware. He being at Newcastle, forty miles below Philadelphia, heard there of me, and wrote me a letter mentioning the concern of my friends in Boston at my abrupt departure, assuring me of their good will to me, and that everything would be accommodated to my mind if I would return, to which he exhorted me very earnestly. I wrote an answer to his letter, thank'd him for his advice, but stated my reasons for quitting Boston fully and in such a light as to convince him I was not so wrong as he had apprehended.

Sir William Keith, governor of the province, was then at Newcastle, and Captain Holmes, happening to be in company with him when my letter came to hand, spoke to him of me, and show'd him the letter. The governor read it, and seem'd surpris'd when he was told of my age. He said I appear'd a young man of promising parts, and therefore should be encouraged; the printers at Philadelphia were wretched ones; and, if I would set up there, he made no doubt I should succeed; for his part, he would procure me the public business, and do me every other service in his power. This my brother-in-law afterwards told me in Boston, but I knew as yet nothing of it; when, one day, Keimer and I being at work together near the window, we saw the governor and another gentleman (which proved to be Colonel French, of Newcastle), finely dressed, come directly across the street to our house, and heard them at the door.

Keimer ran down immediately, thinking it a visit to him; but the governor inquir'd for me, came up, and with a condescension and politeness I had been quite unus'd to, made me many compliments, desired to be acquainted with me, blam'd me kindly for not having made myself known to him when I first came to the place, and would have me away with him to the tavern, where he was going with Colonel French to taste, as he said, some excellent Madeira. I was not a little surpris'd, and Keimer star'd like a pig poison'd. I went, however, with the governor and Colonel French to a tavern, at the corner of Third-street, and over the Madeira he propos'd my setting up business, laid before me the probabilities of success, and both he and Colonel French assur'd me I should have their interest and influence in procuring the public business of both governments. On my doubting whether my father would assist me in it, Sir William said he would give me a letter to him, in which he would state the advantages, and he did not doubt of prevailing with him.

So it was concluded that I should return to Boston in the first vessel, with the governor's letter recommending me to my father. In the meantime the intention was to be kept a secret, and I went on working with Keimer as usual, the governor sending for me now and then to dine with him, a

very great honor I thought it, and conversing with me in the most affable, familiar, and friendly manner imaginable.

About the end of April, 1724, a little vessel offer'd for Boston. I took leave of Keimer as going to see my friends. The governor gave me an ample letter, saying many flattering things of me to my father, and strongly recommending the project of my setting up at Philadelphia as a thing that must make my fortune. We struck on a shoal in going down the bay, and sprung a leak; we had a blustering time at sea, and were oblig'd to pump almost continually, at which I took my turn. We arriv'd safe, however, at Boston in about a fortnight. I had been absent seven months, and my friends had heard nothing of me; for Capt. Holmes was not yet return'd, and had not written about me. My unexpected appearance surpris'd the family; all were, however, very glad to see me, and made me welcome, except my brother. I went to see him at his printing-house. I was better dress'd than ever while in his service, having a genteel new suit from head to foot, a watch, and my pockets lin'd with near five pounds sterling in silver. He receiv'd me not very frankly, look'd me all over, and turn'd to his work again.

The journeymen were inquisitive where I had been, what sort of a country it was, and how I lik'd it. I prais'd it much, and the happy life I led in it, expressing strongly my intention of returning to it; and, one of them asking what kind of money we had there, I produc'd a handful of silver, and spread it before them, which was a kind of raree-show they had not been us'd to, paper being the money of Boston. Then I took an opportunity of letting them see my watch; and, lastly (my brother still grum and sullen), I gave them a piece of eight to drink, and took my leave. This visit of mine offended him extremely; for, when my mother some time after spoke to him of a reconciliation, and of her wishes to see us on good terms together, and that we might live for the future as brothers, he said I had insulted him in such a manner before his people that he could never forget or forgive it. In this, however, he was mistaken.

My father received the governor's letter with some apparent surprise, but said little of it to me for some days, when Capt. Holmes returning he showed it to him, ask'd him

if he knew Keith, and what kind of man he was; adding his opinion that he must be of small discretion to think of setting a boy up in business who wanted yet three years of being at man's estate. Holmes said what he could in favor of the project, but my father was clear in the impropriety of it, and at last gave a flat denial to it. Then he wrote a civil letter to Sir William, thanking him for the patronage he had so kindly offered me, but declining to assist me as yet in setting up, I being, in his opinion, too young to be trusted with the management of a business so important, and for which the preparation must be so expensive.

My friend and companion Collins, who was a clerk in the post-office, pleas'd with the account I gave him of my new country, determined to go thither also; and, while I waited for my father's determination, he set out before me by land to Rhode Island, leaving his books, which were a pretty collection of mathematics and natural philosophy, to come with mine and me to New York, where he propos'd to wait for me.

My father, though he did not approve Sir William's proposition, was yet pleas'd that I had been able to obtain so advantageous a character from a person of such note where I had resided, and that I had been so industrious and careful as to equip myself so handsomely in so short a time; therefore, seeing no prospect of an accommodation between my brother and me, he gave his consent to my returning again to Philadelphia, advis'd me to behave respectfully to the people there, endeavor to obtain the general esteem, and avoid lampooning and libeling, to which he thought I had too much inclination; telling me, that by steady industry and a prudent parsimony I might save enough by the time I was one-and-twenty to set me up; and that, if I came near the matter, he would help me out with the rest. This was all I could obtain, except some small gifts as tokens of his and my mother's love, when I embark'd again for New York, no with their approbation and their blessing.

The sloop putting in at Newport, Rhode Island, I visited my brother John, who had been married and settled there some years. He received me very affectionately, for he always lov'd me. A friend of his, one Vernon, having some money due to him in Pennsylvania, about thirty-five pounds cur-

rency, desired I would receive it for him, and keep it till I had his directions what to remit it in. Accordingly, he gave me an order. This afterwards occasion'd me a good deal of uneasiness.

At Newport we took in a number of passengers for New York, among which were two young women, companions, and a grave, sensible, matron-like Quaker woman, with her attendants. I had shown an obliging readiness to do her some little services, which impress'd her I suppose with a degree of good will toward me; therefore, when she saw a daily growing familiarity between me and the two young women, which they appear'd to encourage, she took me aside, and said, "Young man, I am concern'd for thee, as thou hast no friend with thee, and seems not to know much of the world, or of the snares youth is expos'd to; depend upon it, those are very bad women; I can see it in all their actions; and if thee art not upon thy guard, they will draw thee into some danger; they are strangers to thee, and I advise thee, in a friendly concern for thy welfare, to have no acquaintance with them." As I seem'd at first not to think so ill of them as she did, she mentioned some things she had observ'd and heard that had escap'd my notice, but now convinc'd me she was right. I thank'd her for her kind advice, and promis'd to follow it. When we arriv'd at New York, they told me where they liv'd, and invited me to come and see them, but I avoided it, and it was well I did; for the next day the captain miss'd a silver spoon and some other things, that had been taken out of his cabin, and, knowing that these were a couple of strumpets, he got a warrant to search their lodgings, found the stolen goods, and had the thieves punish'd. So, though we had escap'd a sunken rock, which we scrap'd upon in the passage, I thought this escape of rather more importance to me.

At New York I found my friend Collins, who had arriv'd there some time before me. We had been intimate from children, and had read the same books together; but he had the advantage of more time for reading and studying, and a wonderful genius for mathematical learning, in which he far outstripped me. While I liv'd in Boston, most of my hours of leisure for conversation were spent with him, and he con-

tinu'd a sober as well as an industrious lad; was much respected for his learning by several of the clergy and other gentlemen, and seem'd to promise making a good figure in life. But, during my absence, he had acquir'd a habit of sotting with brandy; and I found by his own account, and what I heard from others, that he had been drunk every day since his arrival at New York, and behav'd very oddly. He had gamed, too, and lost his money, so that I was oblig'd to discharge his lodgings, and defray his expenses to and at Philadelphia, which prov'd extremely inconvenient to me.

The then governor of New York, Burnet (son of Bishop Burnet), hearing from the captain that a young man, one of his passengers, had a great many books, desir'd he would bring me to see him. I waited upon him accordingly, and should have taken Collins with me but that he was not sober. The governor treated me with great civility, showed me his library, which was a very large one, and we had a good deal of conversation about books and authors. This was the second governor who had done me the honor to take notice of me; which, to a poor boy like me, was very pleasing.

We proceeded to Philadelphia. I receiv'd on the way Vernon's money, without which we could hardly have finish'd our journey. Collins wished to be employ'd in some counting-house; but, whether they discover'd his dramming by his breath, or by his behavior, though he had some recommendations, he met with no success in any application, and continu'd lodging and boarding at the same house with me, and at my expense. Knowing I had that money of Vernon's, he was continually borrowing of me, still promising repayment as soon as he should be in business. At length he had got so much of it that I was distress'd to think what I should do in case of being call'd on to remit it.

His drinking continu'd, about which we sometimes quarrel'd; for, when a little intoxicated, he was very fractious. Once, in a boat on the Delaware with some other young men, he refused to row in his turn. "I will be row'd home," says he. "We will not row you," says I. "You must, or stay all night on the water," says he, "just as you please." The others said, "Let us row; what signifies it?" But, my mind

being soured with his other conduct, I continu'd to refuse. So he swore he would make me row, or throw me overboard; and coming along, stepping on the thwarts, toward me, when he came up and struck at me, I clapped my hand under his crutch, and, rising, pitched him head-foremost into the river. I knew he was a good swimmer, and so was under little concern about him; but before he could get round to lay hold of the boat, we had with a few strokes pull'd her out of his reach; and ever when he drew near the boat, we ask'd if he would row, striking a few strokes to slide her away from him. He was ready to die with vexation, and obstinately would not promise to row. However, seeing him at last beginning to tire, we lifted him in and brought him home dripping wet in the evening. We hardly exchang'd a civil word afterwards, and a West India captain, who had a commission to procure a tutor for the sons of a gentleman at Barbadoes, happening to meet with him, agreed to carry him thither. He left me then, promising to remit me the first money he should receive in order to discharge the debt; but I never heard of him after.

The breaking into this money of Vernon's was one of the first great errata of my life; and this affair show'd that my father was not much out in his judgment when he suppos'd me too young to manage business of importance. But Sir William, on reading his letter, said he was too prudent. There was great difference in persons; and discretion did not always accompany years, nor was youth always without it. "And since he will not set you up," says he, "I will do it myself. Give me an inventory of the things necessary to be had from England, and I will send for them. You shall repay me when you are able; I am resolv'd to have a good printer here, and I am sure you must succeed." This was spoken with such an appearance of cordiality, that I had not the least doubt of his meaning what he said. I had hitherto kept the proposition of my setting up, a secret in Philadelphia, and I still kept it. Had it been known that I depended on the governor, probably some friend, that knew him better, would have advis'd me not to rely on him, as I afterwards heard it as his known character to be liberal of promises which he never meant to keep. Yet, unsolicited as he was

by me, how could I think his generous offers insincere? I believ'd him one of the best men in the world.

I presented him an inventory of a little print'g-house, amounting by my computation to about one hundred pounds sterling. He lik'd it, but ask'd me if my being on the spot in England to choose the types, and see that everything was good of the kind, might not be of some advantage. "Then," says he, "when there, you may make acquaintances, and establish correspondences in the bookselling and stationery way." I agreed that this might be advantageous. "Then," says he, "get yourself ready to go with Annis;" which was the annual ship, and the only one at that time usually passing between London and Philadelphia. But it would be some months before Annis sail'd, so I continu'd working with Keimer, fretting about the money Collins had got from me, and in daily apprehensions of being call'd upon by Vernon, which, however, did not happen for some years after.

I believe I have omitted mentioning that, in my first voyage from Boston, being becalm'd off Block Island, our people set about catching cod, and hauled up a great many. Hitherto I had stuck to my resolution of not eating animal food, and on this occasion I consider'd, with my master Tryon, the taking every fish as a kind of unprovoked murder, since none of them had, or ever could do us any injury that might justify the slaughter. All this seemed very reasonable. But I had formerly been a great lover of fish, and when this came hot out of the frying-pan, it smelt admirably well. I balanc'd some time between principle and inclination, till I recollected that, when the fish were opened, I saw smaller fish taken out of their stomachs; then thought I, "If you eat one another, I don't see why we mayn't eat you." So I din'd upon cod very heartily, and continued to eat with other people, returning only now and then occasionally to a vegetable diet. So convenient a thing is it to be a *reasonable creature*, since it enables one to find or make a reason for every thing one has a mind to do.

Keimer and I liv'd on a pretty good familiar footing, and agreed tolerably well, for he suspected nothing of my setting up. He retained a great deal of his old enthusiasms and lov'd argumentation. We therefore had many disputa-

tions. I used to work him so with my Socratic method, and had trepann'd him so often by questions apparently so distant from any point we had in hand, and yet by degrees led to the point, and brought him into difficulties and contradictions, that at last he grew ridiculously cautious, and would hardly answer me the most common question, without asking first, *"What do you intend to infer from that?"* However, it gave him so high an opinion of my abilities in the confuting way, that he seriously proposed my being his colleague in a project he had of setting up a new sect. He was to preach the doctrines, and I was to confound all opponents. When he came to explain with me upon the doctrines, I found several conundrums which I objected to, unless I might have my way a little too, and introduce some of mine.

Keimer wore his beard at full length, because somewhere in the Mosaic law it is said, *"Thou shalt not mar the corners of thy beard."* He likewise kept the Seventh day, Sabbath; and these two points were essentials with him. I dislik'd both; but agreed to admit them upon condition of his adopting the doctrine of using no animal food. "I doubt," said he, "my constitution will not bear that." I assur'd him it would, and that he would be the better for it. He was usually a great glutton, and I promised myself some diversion in half starving him. He agreed to try the practice, if I would keep him company. I did so, and we held it for three months. We had our victuals dress'd, and brought to us regularly by a woman in the neighborhood, who had from me a list of forty dishes, to be prepar'd for us at different times, in all which there was neither fish, flesh, nor fowl, and the whim suited me the better at this time from the cheapness of it, not costing us above eighteenpence sterling each per week. I have since kept several Lents most strictly, leaving the common diet for that, and that for the common, abruptly, without the least inconvenience, so that I think there is little in the advice of making those changes by easy gradations. I went on pleasantly, but poor Keimer suffered grievously, tired of the project, long'd for the flesh-pots of Egypt, and order'd a roast pig. He invited me and two women friends to dine with him; but, it being brought too soon upon table, he could not resist the temptation, and ate the whole before we came.

I had made some courtship during this time to Miss Read. I had a great respect and affection for her, and had some reason to believe she had the same for me; but, as I was about to take a long voyage, and we were both very young, only a little above eighteen, it was thought most prudent by her mother to prevent our going too far at present, as a marriage, if it was to take place, would be more convenient after my return, when I should be, as I expected, set up in my business. Perhaps, too, she thought my expectations not so well founded as I imagined them to be.

My chief acquaintances at this time were Charles Osborne, Joseph Watson, and James Ralph, all lovers of reading. The two first were clerks to an eminent scrivener or conveyancer in the town, Charles Brogden; the other was clerk to a merchant. Watson was a pious, sensible young man, of great integrity; the others rather more lax in their principles of religion, particularly Ralph, who, as well as Collins, had been unsettled by me, for which they both made me suffer. Osborne was sensible, candid, frank; sincere and affectionate to his friends; but, in literary matters, too fond of criticizing. Ralph was ingenious, genteel in his manners, and extremely eloquent; I think I never knew a prettier talker. Both of them great admirers of poetry, and began to try their hands in little pieces. Many pleasant walks we four had together on Sundays into the woods, near Schuylkill, where we read to one another, and conferr'd on what we read.

Ralph was inclin'd to pursue the study of poetry, not doubting but he might become eminent in it, and make his fortune by it, alleging that the best poets must, when they first began to write, make as many faults as he did. Osborne dissuaded him, assur'd him he had no genius for poetry, and advis'd him to think of nothing beyond the business he was bred to; that, in the mercantile way, tho' he had no stock, he might, by his diligence and punctuality, recommend himself to employment as a factor, and in time acquire wherewith to trade on his own account. I approv'd the amusing one's self with poetry now and then, so far as to improve one's language, but no farther.

On this it was propos'd that we should each of us, at our next meeting, produce a piece of our own composing, in

order to improve by our mutual observations, criticisms, and corrections. As language and expression were what we had in view, we excluded all considerations of invention by agreeing that the task should be a version of the eighteenth Psalm, which describes the descent of a Deity. When the time of our meeting drew nigh, Ralph called on me first, and let me know his piece was ready. I told him I had been busy, and, having little inclination, had done nothing. He then show'd me his piece for my opinion, and I much approv'd it, as it appear'd to me to have great merit. "Now," says he, "Osborne never will allow the least merit in any thing of mine, but makes 1,000 criticisms out of mere envy. He is not so jealous of you; I wish, therefore, you would take this piece, and produce it as yours; I will pretend not to have had time, and so produce nothing. We shall then see what he will say to it." It was agreed, and I immediately transcrib'd it, that it might appear in my own hand.

We met; Watson's performance was read; there were some beauties in it, but many defects. Osborne's was read; it was much better; Ralph did it justice; remarked some faults, but applauded the beauties. He himself had nothing to produce. I was backward; seemed desirous of being excused; had not had sufficient time to correct, etc.; but no excuse could be admitted; produce I must. It was read and repeated; Watson and Osborne gave up the contest, and join'd in applauding it. Ralph only made some criticisms, and propos'd some amendments; but I defended my text. Osborne was against Ralph, and told him he was no better a critic than poet, so he dropt the argument. As they two went home together, Osborne expressed himself still more strongly in favor of what he thought my production; having restrain'd himself before, as he said, lest I should think it flattery. "But who would have imagin'd," said he, "that Franklin had been capable of such a performance; such painting, such force, such fire! He has even improv'd the original. In his common conversation he seems to have no choice of words; he hesitates and blunders; and yet, good God! how he writes!" When we next met, Ralph discovered the trick we had played him, and Osborne was a little laughed at.

This transaction fixed Ralph in his resolution of becoming a

poet. I did all I could to dissuade him from it, but he continued scribbling verses till *Pope* cured him. He became, however, a pretty good prose writer. More of him hereafter. But, as I may not have occasion again to mention the other two, I shall just remark here, that Watson died in my arms a few years after, much lamented, being the best of our set. Osborne went to the West Indies, where he became an eminent lawyer and made money, but died young. He and I had made a serious agreement, that the one who happen'd first to die should, if possible, make a friendly visit to the other, and acquaint him how he found things in that separate state. But he never fulfill'd his promise.

The governor, seeming to like my company, had me frequently to his house, and his setting me up was always mention'd as a fixed thing. I was to take with me letters recommendatory to a number of his friends, besides the letter of credit to furnish me with the necessary money for purchasing the press and types, paper, etc. For these letters I was appointed to call at different times, when they were to be ready; but a future time was still named. Thus he went on till the ship, whose departure too had been several times postponed, was on the point of sailing. Then, when I call'd to take my leave and receive the letters, his secretary, Dr. Bard, came out to me and said the governor was extremely busy in writing, but would be down at Newcastle before the ship, and there the letters would be delivered to me as he had promised.

Ralph, though married, and having one child, had determined to accompany me in this voyage. It was thought he intended to establish a correspondence, and obtain goods to sell on commission; but I found afterwards, that, thro' some discontent with his wife's relations, he purposed to leave her on their hands, and never return again. Having taken leave of my friends, and interchang'd some promises with Miss Read, I left Philadelphia in the ship, which anchor'd at Newcastle. The governor was there; but when I went to his lodging, the secretary came to me from him with the civilest message in the world, that he could not then see me, being engaged in business of the utmost importance, but should send the letters to me on board, wished me

heartily a good voyage and a speedy return, etc. I returned on board a little puzzled, but still not doubting.

Mr. Andrew Hamilton, a famous lawyer of Philadelphia, had taken passage in the same ship for himself and son, and with Mr. Denham, a Quaker merchant, and Messrs. Onion and Russel, masters of an iron work in Maryland, had engag'd the great cabin; so that Ralph and I were forced to take up with a berth in the steerage, and none on board knowing us, were considered as ordinary persons. But Mr. Hamilton and his son (it was James, since governor) return'd from Newcastle to Philadelphia, the father being recall'd by a great fee to plead for a seized ship; and, just before we sail'd, Colonel French coming on board, and showing me great respect, I was more taken notice of, and, with my friend Ralph, invited by the other gentlemen to come into the cabin, there being now room. Accordingly, we remov'd thither.

Understanding that Colonel French had brought on board the governor's dispatches, I ask'd the captain for those letters that were to be under my care. He said all were put into the bag together and he could not then come at them; but, before we landed in England, I should have an opportunity of picking them out; so I was satisfied for the present, and we proceeded on our voyage. We had a sociable company in the cabin, and lived uncommonly well, having the addition of all Mr. Hamilton's stores, who had laid in plentifully. In this passage Mr. Denham contracted a friendship for me that continued during his life. The voyage was otherwise not a pleasant one, as we had a great deal of bad weather.

When we came into the Channel, the captain kept his word with me, and gave me an opportunity of examining the bag for the governor's letters. I found none upon which my name was put as under my care. I picked out six or seven, that, by the handwriting, I thought might be the promised letters, especially as one of them was directed to Basket, the king's printer, and another to some stationer. We arriv'd in London the 24th of December, 1724. I waited upon the stationer, who came first in my way, delivering the letter as from Governor Keith. "I don't know such a person," says he; but, opening the letter, "O! this is from Riddlesden. I have lately found him to be a complete rascal, and I will have noth-

ing to do with him, nor receive any letters from him.'' So, putting the letter into my hand, he turn'd on his heel and left me to serve some customer. I was surprised to find these were not the governor's letters; and, after recollecting and comparing circumstances, I began to doubt his sincerity. I found my friend Denham, and opened the whole affair to him. He let me into Keith's character; told me there was not the least probability that he had written any letters for me; that no one, who knew him, had the smallest dependence on him; and he laught at the notion of the governor's giving me a letter of credit, having, as he said, no credit to give. On my expressing some concern about what I should do, he advised me to endeavor getting some employment in the way of my business. ''Among the printers here,'' said he, ''you will improve yourself, and when you return to America, you will set up to greater advantage.''

We both of us happen'd to know, as well as the stationer, that Riddlesden, the attorney, was a very knave. He had half ruin'd Miss Read's father by persuading him to be bound for him. By this letter it appear'd there was a secret scheme on foot to the prejudice of Hamilton (suppos'd to be then coming over with us); and that Keith was concerned in it with Riddlesden. Denham, who was a friend of Hamilton's, thought he ought to be acquainted with it; so, when he arriv'd in England, which was soon after, partly from resentment and ill-will to Keith and Riddlesden, and partly from good-will to him, I waited on him, and gave him the letter. He thank'd me cordially, the information being of importance to him; and from that time he became my friend, greatly to my advantage afterwards on many occasions.

But what shall we think of a governor's playing such pitiful tricks, and imposing so grossly on a poor ignorant boy! It was a habit he had acquired. He wish'd to please everybody; and, having little to give, he gave expectations. He was otherwise an ingenious, sensible man, a pretty good writer, and a good governor for the people, tho' not for his constituents, the proprietaries, whose instructions he sometimes disregarded. Several of our best laws were of his planning and passed during his administration.

Ralph and I were inseparable companions. We took lodgings together in Little Britain at three shillings and sixpence a week—as much as we could then afford. He found some relations, but they were poor, and unable to assist him. He now let me know his intentions of remaining in London, and that he never meant to return to Philadelphia. He had brought no money with him, the whole he could muster having been expended in paying his passage. I had fifteen pistoles; so he borrowed occasionally of me to subsist, while he was looking out for business. He first endeavored to get into the playhouse, believing himself qualify'd for an actor; but Wilkes, to whom he apply'd, advis'd him candidly not to think of that employment, as it was impossible he should succeed in it. Then he propos'd to Roberts, a publisher in Paternoster Row, to write for him a weekly paper like the Spectator, on certain conditions, which Roberts did not approve. Then he endeavored to get employment as a hackney writer, to copy for the stationers and lawyers about the Temple, but could find no vacancy.

I immediately got into work at Palmer's, then a famous printing-house in Bartholomew Close, and here I continu'd near a year. I was pretty diligent, but spent with Ralph a good deal of my earnings in going to plays and other places of amusement. We had together consumed all my pistoles, and now just rubbed on from hand to mouth. He seem'd quite to forget his wife and child, and I, by degrees, my engagement with Miss Read, to whom I never wrote more than one letter, and that was to let her know I was not likely soon to return. This was another of the great errata of my life, which I should wish to correct if I were to live it over again. In fact, by our expenses, I was constantly kept unable to pay my passage.

At Palmer's I was employed in composing for the second edition of Wollaston's "Religion of Nature." Some of his reasonings not appearing to me well founded, I wrote a little metaphysical piece in which I made remarks on them. It was entitled "A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain." I inscribed it to my friend Ralph; I printed a small number. It occasion'd my being more consider'd by Mr. Palmer as a young man of some ingenuity, tho' he seriously

expostulated with me upon the principles of my pamphlet, which to him appear'd abominable. My printing this pamphlet was another erratum. While I lodg'd in Little Britain, I made an acquaintance with one Wilcox, a bookseller, whose shop was at the next door. He had an immense collection of second-hand books. Circulating libraries were not then in use; but we agreed that, on certain reasonable terms, which I have now forgotten, I might take, read, and return any of his books. This I esteem'd a great advantage, and I made as much use of it as I could.

My pamphlet by some means falling into the hands of one Lyons, a surgeon, author of a book entitled "The Infallibility of Human Judgment," it occasioned an acquaintance between us. He took great notice of me, called on me often to converse on those subjects, carried me to the Horns, a pale alehouse in —— Lane, Cheapside, and introduced me to Dr. Mandeville, author of the "Fable of the Bees," who had a club there, of which he was the soul, being a most facetious, entertaining companion. Lyons, too, introduced me to Dr. Pemberton, at Batson's Coffee-house, who promis'd to give me an opportunity, some time or other, of seeing Sir Isaac Newton, of which I was extremely desirous; but this never happened.

I had brought over a few curiosities, among which the principal was a purse made of the asbestos, which purifies by fire. Sir Hans Sloane heard of it, came to see me, and invited me to his house in Bloomsbury Square, where he show'd me all his curiosities, and persuaded me to let him add that to the number, for which he paid me handsomely.

In our house there lodg'd a young woman, a milliner, who, I think, had a shop in the Cloisters. She had been genteelly bred, was sensible and lively, and of most pleasing conversation. Ralph read plays to her in the evenings, they grew intimate, she took another lodging, and he followed her. They liv'd together some time; but, he being still out of business, and her income not sufficient to maintain them with her child, he took a resolution of going from London, to try for a country school, which he thought himself well qualified to undertake, as he wrote an excellent hand, and was a master of arithmetic and accounts. This, however, he deemed

a business below him, and confident of future better fortune, when he should be unwilling to have it known that he once was so meanly employed, he changed his name, and did me the honor to assume mine; for I soon after had a letter from him, acquainting me that he was settled in a small village (in Berkshire, I think it was, where he taught reading and writing to ten or a dozen boys, at sixpence each per week), recommending Mrs. T—— to my care, and desiring me to write to him, directing for Mr. Franklin, school-master, at such a place.

He continued to write frequently, sending me large specimens of an epic poem which he was then composing, and desiring my remarks and corrections. These I gave him from time to time, but endeavor'd rather to discourage his proceeding. One of Young's Satires was then just published. I copy'd and sent him a great part of it, which set in a strong light the folly of pursuing the Muses with any hope of advancement by them. All was in vain; sheets of the poem continued to come by every post. In the mean time, Mrs. T——, having on his account lost her friends and business, was often in distresses, and us'd to send for me, and borrow what I could spare to help her out of them. I grew fond of her company, and, being at that time under no religious restraint, and presuming upon my importance to her, I attempted familiarities (another erratum) which she repuls'd with a proper resentment, and acquainted him with my behavior. This made a breach between us; and, when he returned again to London, he let me know he thought I had cancel'd all the obligations he had been under to me. So I found I was never to expect his repaying me what I lent to him, or advanc'd for him. This, however, was not then of much consequence, as he was totally unable; and in the loss of his friendship I found myself relieved from a burden. I now began to think of getting a little money beforehand, and, expecting better work, I left Palmer's to work at Watts's, near Lincoln's Inn Fields, a still greater printing-house. Here I continued all the rest of my stay in London.

At my first admission into this printing-house I took to working at press, imagining I felt a want of the bodily exercise I had been us'd to in America, where presswork is

mix'd with composing. I drank only water; the other workmen, near fifty in number, were great guzzlers of beer. On occasion, I carried up and down stairs a large form of types in each hand, when others carried but one in both hands. They wondered to see, from this and several instances, that the *Water-American,* as they called me, was *stronger* than themselves, who drank *strong* beer! We had an alehouse boy who attended always in the house to supply the workmen. My companion at the press drank every day a pint before breakfast, a pint at breakfast with his bread and cheese, a pint between breakfast and dinner, a pint at dinner, a pint in the afternoon about six o'clock, and another when he had done his day's work. I thought it a detestable custom; but it was necessary, he suppos'd, to drink *strong* beer, that he might be *strong* to labor. I endeavored to convince him that the bodily strength afforded by beer could only be in proportion to the grain or flour of the barley dissolved in the water of which it was made; that there was more flour in a pennyworth of bread; and therefore, if he would eat that with a pint of water, it would give him more strength than a quart of beer. He drank on, however, and had four or five shillings to pay out of his wages every Saturday night for that muddling liquor; an expense I was free from. And thus these poor devils keep themselves always under.

Watts, after some weeks, desiring to have me in the composing-room, I left the pressmen; a new bien venu or sum for drink, being five shillings, was demanded of me by the compositors. I thought it an imposition, as I had paid below; the master thought so too, and forbade my paying it. I stood out two or three weeks, was accordingly considered as an excommunicate, and had so many little pieces of private mischief done me, by mixing my sorts, transposing my pages, breaking my matter, etc., etc., if I were ever so little out of the room, and all ascribed to the chapel ghost, which they said ever haunted those not regularly admitted, that, notwithstanding the master's protection, I found myself oblig'd to comply and pay the money, convinc'd of the folly of being on ill terms with those one is to live with continually.

I was now on a fair footing with them, and soon acquir'd considerable influence. I propos'd some reasonable altera-

tions in their chapel[3] laws, and carried them against all opposition. From my example, a great part of them left their muddling breakfast of beer, and bread, and cheese, finding they could with me be supply'd from a neighboring house with a large porringer of hot water-gruel, sprinkled with pepper, crumb'd with bread, and a bit of butter in it, for the price of a pint of beer, viz., three half-pence. This was a more comfortable as well as cheaper breakfast, and kept their heads clearer. Those who continued sotting with beer all day, were often, by not paying, out of credit at the alehouse, and us'd to make interest with me to get beer; their *light,* as they phrased it, *being out.* I watch'd the pay-table on Saturday night, and collected what I stood engag'd for them, having to pay sometimes near thirty shillings a week on their accounts. This, and my being esteem'd a pretty good *riggite,* that is, a jocular verbal satirist, supported my consequence in the society. My constant attendance (I never making a St. Monday) recommended me to the master; and my uncommon quickness at composing occasioned my being put upon all work of dispatch, which was generally better paid. So I went on now very agreeably.

My lodging in Little Britain being too remote, I found another in Duke-street, opposite to the Romish Chapel. It was two pair of stairs backwards, at an Italian warehouse. A widow lady kept the house; she had a daughter, and a maid servant, and a journeyman who attended the warehouse, but lodg'd abroad. After sending to inquire my character at the house where I last lodg'd she agreed to take me in at the same rate, 3s. 6d. per week; cheaper, as she said, from the protection she expected in having a man lodge in the house. She was a widow, an elderly woman; had been bred a Protestant, being a clergyman's daughter, but was converted to the Catholic religion by her husband, whose memory she much revered; had lived much among people of distinction, and knew a thousand anecdotes of them as far back as the times of Charles the Second. She was lame in her knees with the gout, and, therefore, seldom stirred out of her room, so sometimes wanted company; and hers was so highly amusing to me, that I was sure to spend an evening with her when-

[3] A printing-house was formerly called a chapel by the workmen.

ever she desired it. Our supper was only half an anchovy each, on a very little strip of bread and butter, and half a pint of ale between us; but the entertainment was in her conversation. My always keeping good hours, and giving little trouble in the family, made her unwilling to part with me; so that, when I talk'd of a lodging I had heard of, nearer my business, for two shillings a week, which, intent as I now was on saving money, made some difference, she bid me not think of it, for she would abate me two shillings a week for the future; so I remained with her at one shilling and sixpence as long as I stayed in London.

In a garret of her house there lived a maiden lady of seventy, in the most retired manner, of whom my landlady gave me this account: that she was a Roman Catholic, had been sent abroad when young, and lodg'd in a nunnery with an intent of becoming a nun; but, the country not agreeing with her, she returned to England, where, there being no nunnery, she had vow'd to lead the life of a nun, as near as might be done in those circumstances. Accordingly, she had given all her estate to charitable uses, reserving only twelve pounds a year to live on, and out of this sum she still gave a great deal in charity, living herself on water-gruel only, and using no fire but to boil it. She had lived many years in that garret, being permitted to remain there gratis by successive Catholic tenants of the house below, as they deemed it a blessing to have her there. A priest visited her to confess her every day. "I have ask'd her," says my landlady, "how she, as she liv'd, could possibly find so much employment for a confessor?" "Oh," said she, "it is impossible to avoid *vain thoughts.*" I was permitted once to visit her. She was cheerful and polite, and convers'd pleasantly. The room was clean, but had no other furniture than a mattress, a table with a crucifix and book, a stool which she gave me to sit on, and a picture over the chimney of Saint Veronica displaying her handkerchief, with the miraculous figure of Christ's bleeding face on it, which she explained to me with great seriousness. She look'd pale, but was never sick; and I give it as another instance on how small an income, life and health may be supported.

At Watts's printing-house I contracted an acquaintance

with an ingenious young man, one Wygate, who, having wealthy relations, had been better educated than most printers; was a tolerable Latinist, spoke French, and lov'd reading. I taught him and a friend of his to swim at twice going into the river, and they soon became good swimmers. They introduc'd me to some gentlemen from the country, who went to Chelsea by water to see the College and Don Saltero's curiosities. In our return, at the request of the company, whose curiosity Wygate had excited, I stripped and leaped into the river, and swam from near Chelsea to Blackfriar's, performing on the way many feats of activity, both upon and under water, that surpris'd and pleas'd those to whom they were novelties.

I had from a child been ever delighted with this exercise, had studied and practic'd all Thevenot's motions and positions, added some of my own, aiming at the graceful and easy as well as the useful. All these I took this occasion of exhibiting to the company, and was much flatter'd by their admiration; and Wygate, who was desirous of becoming a master, grew more and more attach'd to me on that account, as well as from the similarity of our studies. He at length proposed to me traveling all over Europe together, supporting ourselves everywhere by working at our business. I was once inclined to it; but, mentioning it to my good friend Mr. Denham, with whom I often spent an hour when I had leisure, he dissuaded me from it, advising me to think only of returning to Pennsylvania, which he was now about to do.

I must record one trait of this good man's character. He had formerly been in business at Bristol, but failed in debt to a number of people, compounded and went to America. There, by a close application to business as a merchant, he acquir'd a plentiful fortune in a few years. Returning to England in the ship with me, he invited his old creditors to an entertainment, at which he thank'd them for the easy composition they had favored him with, and, when they expected nothing but the treat, every man at the first remove found under his plate an order on a banker for the full amount of the unpaid remainder with interest.

He now told me he was about to return to Philadelphia, and should carry over a great quantity of goods in order to

open a store there. He propos'd to take me over as his clerk, to keep his books, in which he would instruct me, copy his letters, and attend the store. He added, that, as soon as I should be acquainted with mercantile business, he would promote me by sending me with a cargo of flour and bread, etc., to the West Indies, and procure me commissions from others which would be profitable; and, if I manag'd well, would establish me handsomely. The thing pleas'd me; for I was grown tired of London, remembered with pleasure the happy months I had spent in Pennsylvania, and wish'd again to see it; therefore I immediately agreed on the terms of fifty pounds a year, Pennsylvania money; less, indeed, than my present gettings as a compositor, but affording a better prospect.

I now took leave of printing, as I thought, for ever, and was daily employed in my new business, going about with Mr. Denham among the tradesmen to purchase various articles, and seeing them pack'd up, doing errands, calling upon workmen to dispatch, etc.; and, when all was on board, I had a few days' leisure. On one of these days, I was, to my surprise, sent for by a great man I knew only by name, a Sir William Wyndham, and I waited upon him. He had heard by some means or other of my swimming from Chelsea to Blackfriar's, and of my teaching Wygate and another young man to swim in a few hours. He had two sons, about to set out on their travels; he wish'd to have them first taught swimming, and proposed to gratify me handsomely if I would teach them. They were not yet come to town, and my stay was uncertain, so I could not undertake it; but, from this incident, I thought it likely that, if I were to remain in England and open a swimming-school, I might get a good deal of money; and it struck me so strongly, that, had the overture been sooner made me, probably I should not so soon have returned to America. After many years, you and I had something of more importance to do with one of these sons of Sir William Wyndham, become Earl of Egremont, which I shall mention in its place.

Thus I spent about eighteen months in London; most part of the time I work'd hard at my business, and spent but little upon myself except in seeing plays and in books. My friend

Ralph had kept me poor; he owed me about twenty-seven pounds, which I was now never likely to receive; a great sum out of my small earnings! I lov'd him, notwithstanding, for he had many amiable qualities. I had by no means improv'd my fortune; but I had picked up some very ingenious acquaintance, whose conversation was of great advantage to me; and I had read considerably.

We sail'd from Gravesend on the 23rd of July, 1726. For the incidents of the voyage, I refer you to my Journal, where you will find them all minutely related. Perhaps the most important part of that journal is the *plan*[4] to be found in it, which I formed at sea, for regulating my future conduct in life. It is the more remarkable, as being formed when I was so young, and yet being pretty faithfully adhered to quite thro' to old age.

We landed in Philadelphia on the 11th of October, where I found sundry alterations. Keith was no longer governor, being superseded by Major Gordon. I met him walking the streets as a common citizen. He seem'd a little asham'd at seeing me, but pass'd without saying anything. I should have been as much asham'd at seeing Miss Read, had not her friends, despairing with reason of my return after the receipt of my letter, persuaded her to marry another, one Rogers, a potter, which was done in my absence. With him, however, she was never happy, and soon parted from him, refusing to cohabit with him or bear his name, it being now said that he had another wife. He was a worthless fellow, tho' an excellent workman, which was the temptation to her friends. He got into debt, ran away in 1727 or 1728, went to the West Indies, and died there. Keimer had got a better house, a shop well supply'd with stationery, plenty of new types, a number of hands, tho' none good, and seem'd to have a great deal of business.

Mr. Denham took a store in Water-street, where we open'd our goods; I attended the business diligently, studied accounts, and grew, in a little time, expert at selling. We lodg'd and boarded together; he counsel'd me as a father, having a sincere regard for me. I respected and loved him, and we

[4] The "Journal" was printed by Sparks, from a copy made at Reading in 1787. But it does not contain the *Plan*.

might have gone on together very happy; but, in the beginning of February, 1726-7, when I had just pass'd my twenty-first year, we both were taken ill. My distemper was a pleurisy, which very nearly carried me off. I suffered a good deal, gave up the point in my mind, and was rather disappointed when I found myself recovering, regretting, in some degree, that I must now, some time or other, have all that disagreeable work to do over again. I forget what his distemper was; it held him a long time, and at length carried him off. He left me a small legacy in a nuncupative will, as a token of his kindness for me, and he left me once more to the wide world; for the store was taken into the care of his executors, and in that way my employment under him ended.

My brother-in-law, Holmes, being now at Philadelphia, advised my return to my business; and Keimer tempted me, with an offer of large wages by the year, to come and take the management of his printing-house, that he might better attend his stationer's shop. I had heard a bad character of him in London from his wife and her friends, and was not fond of having any more to do with him. I tri'd for farther employment as a merchant's clerk; but, not readily meeting with any, I clos'd again with Keimer. I found in his house these hands: Hugh Meredith, a Welsh Pennsylvanian, thirty years of age, bred to country work; honest, sensible, had a great deal of solid observation, was something of a reader, but given to drink. Stephen Potts, a young countryman of full age, bred to the same, of uncommon natural parts, and great wit and humor, but a little idle. These he had agreed with at extreme low wages per week, to be rais'd a shilling every three months, as they would deserve by improving in their business; and the expectation of these high wages, to come on hereafter, was what he had drawn them in with. Meredith was to work at press, Potts at book-binding, which he, by agreement, was to teach them, though he knew neither one nor t'other. John ——, a wild Irishman, brought up to no business, whose service, for four years, Keimer had purchased from the captain of a ship; he, too, was to be made a pressman. George Webb, an Oxford scholar, whose time for four years he had likewise bought, intending him for a com-

positor, of whom more presently; and David Harry, a country boy, whom he had taken apprentice.

I soon perceiv'd that the intention of engaging me at wages so much higher than he had been us'd to give, was, to have these raw, cheap hands form'd thro' me; and, as soon as I had instructed them, then they being all articled to him, he should be able to do without me. I went on, however, very cheerfully, put his printing-house in order, which had been in great confusion, and brought his hands by degrees to mind their business and to do it better.

It was an odd thing to find an Oxford scholar in the situation of a bought servant. He was not more than eighteen years of age, and gave me this account of himself; that he was born in Gloucester, educated at a grammar-school there, had been distinguish'd among the scholars for some apparent superiority in performing his part, when they exhibited plays; belong'd to the Witty Club there, and had written some pieces in prose and verse, which were printed in the Gloucester newspapers; thence he was sent to Oxford; where he continued about a year, but not well satisfi'd, wishing of all things to see London, and become a player. At length, receiving his quarterly allowance of fifteen guineas, instead of discharging his debts he walk'd out of town, hid his gown in a furze bush, and footed it to London, where, having no friends to advise him, he fell into bad company, soon spent his guineas, found no means of being introduc'd among the players, grew necessitous, pawn'd his clothes, and wanted bread. Walking the street very hungry, and not knowing what to do with himself, a crimp's bill was put into his hand, offering immediate entertainment and encouragement to such as would bind themselves to serve in America. He went directly, sign'd the indentures, was put into the ship, and came over, never writing a line to acquaint his friends what was become of him. He was lively, witty, good-natur'd, and a pleasant companion, but idle, thoughtless, and imprudent to the last degree.

John, the Irishman, soon ran away; with the rest I began to live very agreeably, for they all respected me the more, as they found Keimer incapable of instructing them, and that from me they learned something daily. We never worked on

Saturday, that being Keimer's Sabbath, so I had two days for reading. My acquaintance with ingenious people in the town increased. Keimer himself treated me with great civility and apparent regard, and nothing now made me uneasy but my debt to Vernon, which I was yet unable to pay, being hitherto but a poor economist. He, however, kindly made no demand of it.

Our printing-house often wanted sorts, and there was no letter-founder in America; I had seen types cast at James's in London, but without much attention to the manner; however, I now contrived a mold, made use of the letters we had as puncheons, struck the matrices in lead, and thus supply'd in a pretty tolerable way all deficiencies. I also engrav'd several things on occasion; I made the ink; I was warehouseman, and everything, and, in short, quite a fac-totum.

But, however serviceable I might be, I found that my services became every day of less importance, as the other hands improv'd in the business; and, when Keimer paid my second quarter's wages, he let me know that he felt them too heavy, and thought I should make an abatement. He grew by degrees less civil, put on more of the master, frequently found fault, was captious, and seem'd ready for an outbreaking. I went on, nevertheless, with a good deal of patience, thinking that his encumber'd circumstances were partly the cause. At length a trifle snapt our connections; for, a great noise happening near the court-house, I put my head out of the window to see what was the matter. Keimer, being in the street, look'd up and saw me, call'd out to me in a loud voice and angry tone to mind my business, adding some reproachful words, that nettled me the more for their publicity, all the neighbors who were looking out on the same occasion being witnesses how I was treated. He came up immediately into the printing-house, continu'd the quarrel, high words pass'd on both sides, he gave me the quarter's warning we had stipulated, expressing a wish that he had not been oblig'd to so long a warning. I told him his wish was unnecessary, for I would leave him that instant; and so, taking my hat, walk'd out of doors, desiring Meredith, whom I saw below, to take care of some things I left, and bring them to my lodgings.

Meredith came accordingly in the evening, when we talked my affair over. He had conceiv'd a great regard for me, and was very unwilling that I should leave the house while he remain'd in it. He dissuaded me from returning to my native country, which I began to think of; he reminded me that Keimer was in debt for all he possess'd; that his creditors began to be uneasy; that he kept his shop miserably, sold often without profit for ready money, and often trusted without keeping accounts; that he must therefore fail, which would make a vacancy I might profit of. I objected my want of money. He then let me know that his father had a high opinion of me, and, from some discourse that had pass'd between them, he was sure would advance money to set us up, if I would enter into partnership with him. "My time," says he, "will be out with Keimer in the spring; by that time we may have our press and types in from London. I am sensible I am no workman; if you like it, your skill in the business shall be set against the stock I furnish, and we will share the profits equally."

The proposal was agreeable, and I consented; his father was in town and approv'd of it; the more as he saw I had great influence with his son, had prevail'd on him to abstain long from dram-drinking, and he hop'd might break him off that wretched habit entirely, when we came to be so closely connected. I gave an inventory to the father, who carry'd it to a merchant; the things were sent for, the secret was to be kept till they should arrive, and in the mean time I was to get work, if I could, at the other printing-house. But I found no vacancy there, and so remain'd idle a few days, when Keimer, on a prospect of being employ'd to print some paper money in New Jersey, which would require cuts and various types that I only could supply, and apprehending Bradford might engage me and get the job from him, sent me a very civil message, that old friends should not part for a few words, the effect of sudden passion, and wishing me to return. Meredith persuaded me to comply, as it would give more opportunity for his improvement under my daily instructions; so I return'd, and we went on more smoothly than for some time before. The New Jersey job was obtain'd, I contriv'd a copperplate press for it, the first that

had been seen in the country; I cut several ornaments and checks for the bills. We went together to Burlington, where I executed the whole to satisfaction; and he received so large a sum for the work as to be enabled thereby to keep his head much longer above water.

At Burlington I made an acquaintance with many principal people of the province. Several of them had been appointed by the Assembly a committee to attend the press, and take care that no more bills were printed than the law directed. They were therefore, by turns, constantly with us, and generally he who attended, brought with him a friend or two for company. My mind having been much more improv'd by reading than Keimer's, I suppose it was for that reason my conversation seem'd to be more valu'd. They had me to their houses, introduced me to their friends, and show'd me much civility; while he, tho' the master, was a little neglected. In truth, he was an odd fish; ignorant of common life, fond of rudely opposing receiv'd opinions, slovenly to extreme dirtiness, enthusiastic in some points of religion, and a little knavish withal.

We continu'd there near three months; and by that time I could reckon among my acquired friends, Judge Allen, Samuel Bustill, the secretary of the Province, Isaac Pearson, Joseph Cooper, and several of the Smiths, members of Assembly, and Isaac Decow, the surveyor-general. The latter was a shrewd, sagacious old man, who told me that he began for himself, when young, by wheeling clay for the brickmakers, learned to write after he was of age, carri'd the chain for surveyors, who taught him surveying, and he had now by his industry, acquir'd a good estate; and says he, "I foresee that you will soon work this man out of his business, and make a fortune in it at Philadelphia." He had not then the least intimation of my intention to set up there or anywhere. These friends were afterwards of great use to me, as I occasionally was to some of them. They all continued their regard for me as long as they lived.

Before I enter upon my public appearance in business, it may be well to let you know the then state of my mind with regard to my principles and morals, that you may see how far those influenc'd the future events of my life. My

parents had early given me religious impressions, and brought me through my childhood piously in the Dissenting way. But I was scarce fifteen, when, after doubting by turns of several points, as I found them disputed in the different books I read, I began to doubt of Revelation itself. Some books against Deism fell into my hands; they were said to be the substance of sermons preached at Boyle's Lectures. It happened that they wrought an effect on me quite contrary to what was intended by them; for the arguments of the Deists, which were quoted to be refuted, appeared to me much stronger than the refutations; in short, I soon became a thorough Deist. My arguments perverted some others, particularly Collins and Ralph; but, each of them having afterwards wrong'd me greatly without the least compunction, and recollecting Keith's conduct towards me (who was another freethinker), and my own towards Vernon and Miss Read, which at times gave me great trouble, I began to suspect that this doctrine, tho' it might be true, was not very useful. My London pamphlet, which had for its motto these lines of Dryden:

> "Whatever is, is right. Though purblind man
> Sees but a part o' the chain, the nearest link:
> His eyes not carrying to the equal beam,
> That poises all above;"

and from the attributes of God, his infinite wisdom, goodness and power, concluded that nothing could possibly be wrong in the world, and that vice and virtue were empty distinctions, no such things existing, appear'd now not so clever a performance as I once thought it; and I doubted whether some error had not insinuated itself unperceiv'd into my argument, so as to infect all that follow'd, as is common in metaphysical reasonings.

I grew convinc'd that *truth, sincerity* and *integrity* in dealings between man and man were of the utmost importance to the felicity of life; and I form'd written resolutions, which still remain in my journal book, to practice them ever while I lived. Revelation had indeed no weight with me, as such; but I entertain'd an opinion that, though certain actions might not be bad *because* they were forbidden by it, or good *because*

it commanded them, yet probably these actions might be forbidden *because* they were bad for us, or commanded *because* they were beneficial to us, in their own natures, all the circumstances of things considered. And this persuasion, with the kind hand of Providence, or some guardian angel, or accidental favorable circumstances and situations, or all together, preserved me, thro' this dangerous time of youth, and the hazardous situations I was sometimes in among strangers, remote from the eye and advice of my father, without any willful gross immorality or injustice, that might have been expected from my want of religion. I say willful, because the instances I have mentioned had something of *necessity* in them, from my youth, inexperience, and the knavery of others. I had therefore a tolerable character to begin the world with; I valued it properly, and determin'd to preserve it.

We had not been long return'd to Philadelphia before the new types arriv'd from London. We settled with Keimer, and left him by his consent before he heard of it. We found a house to hire near the market, and took it. To lessen the rent, which was then but twenty-four pounds a year, tho' I have since known it to let for seventy, we took in Thomas Godfrey, a glazier, and his family, who were to pay a considerable part of it to us, and we to board with them. We had scarce opened our letters and put our press in order, before George House, an acquaintance of mine, brought a countryman to us, whom he had met in the street inquiring for a printer. All our cash was now expended in the variety of particulars we had been obliged to procure, and this countryman's five shillings, being our first-fruits, and coming so seasonably, gave me more pleasure than any crown I have since earned; and the gratitude I felt toward House has made me often more ready than perhaps I should otherwise have been to assist young beginners.

There are croakers in every country, always boding its ruin. Such a one then lived in Philadelphia; a person of note, an elderly man, with a wise look and a very grave manner of speaking; his name was Samuel Mickle. This gentleman, a stranger to me, stopt one day at my door, and asked me if I was the young man who had lately opened a new printing-house. Being answered in the affirmative, he said

he was sorry for me, because it was an expensive undertaking, and the expense would be lost; for Philadelphia was a sinking place, the people already half-bankrupts, or near being so; all appearances to the contrary, such as new buildings and the rise of rents, being to his certain knowledge fallacious; for they were, in fact, among the things that would soon ruin us. And he gave me such a detail of misfortunes now existing, or that were soon to exist, that he left me half melancholy. Had I known him before I engaged in this business, probably I never should have done it. This man continued to live in this decaying place, and to declaim in the same strain, refusing for many years to buy a house there, because all was going to destruction; and at last I had the pleasure of seeing him give five times as much for one as he might have bought it for when he first began his croaking.

I should have mentioned before, that, in the autumn of the preceding year, I had form'd most of my ingenious acquaintance into a club of mutual improvement, which we called the JUNTO; we met on Friday evenings. The rules that I drew up required that every member, in his turn, should produce one or more queries on any point of Morals, Politics, or Natural Philosophy, to be discuss'd by the company; and once in three months produce and read an essay of his own writing, on any subject he pleased. Our debates were to be under the direction of a president, and to be conducted in the sincere spirit of inquiry after truth, without fondness for dispute, or desire of victory; and, to prevent warmth, all expressions of positiveness in opinions, or direct contradiction, were after some time made contraband, and prohibited under small pecuniary penalties.

The first members were Joseph Breintnal, a copier of deeds for the scriveners, a good-natur'd, friendly, middle-ag'd man, a great lover of poetry, reading all he could meet with, and writing some that was tolerable; very ingenious in many little Nicknackeries, and of sensible conversation.

Thomas Godfrey, a self-taught mathematician, great in his way, and afterwards inventor of what is now called Hadley's Quadrant. But he knew little out of his way, and was not a pleasing companion; as, like most great mathematicians I

have met with, he expected universal precision in everything said, or was for ever denying or distinguishing upon trifles, to the disturbance of all conversation. He soon left us.

Nicholas Scull, a surveyor, afterwards surveyor-general, who lov'd books, and sometimes made a few verses.

William Parsons, bred a shoemaker, but, loving reading, had acquir'd a considerable share of mathematics, which he first studied with a view to astrology, that he afterwards laughed at it. He also became surveyor-general.

William Maugridge, a joiner, a most exquisite mechanic, and a solid, sensible man.

Hugh Meredith, Stephen Potts, and George Webb I have characteriz'd before.

Robert Grace, a young gentleman of some fortune, generous, lively, and witty; a lover of punning and of his friends.

And William Coleman, then a merchant's clerk, about my age, who had the coolest, clearest head, the best heart, and the exactest morals of almost any man I ever met with. He became afterwards a merchant of great note, and one of our provincial judges. Our friendship continued without interruption to his death, upwards of forty years; and the club continued almost as long, and was the best school of philosophy, morality, and politics that then existed in the province; for our queries, which were read the week preceding their discussion, put us upon reading with attention upon the several subjects, that we might speak more to the purpose; and here, too, we acquired better habits of conversation, every thing being studied in our rules which might prevent our disgusting each other. From hence the long continuance of the club, which I shall have frequent occasion to speak further of hereafter.

But my giving this account of it here is to show something of the interest I had, every one of these exerting themselves in recommending business to us. Breintnal particularly procur'd us from the Quakers the printing forty sheets of their history, the rest being to be done by Keimer; and upon this we work'd exceedingly hard, for the price was low. It was a folio, pro patria size, in pica, with long primer notes. I compos'd of it a sheet a day, and Meredith worked it off at

press; it was often eleven at night, and sometimes later, before I had finished my distribution for the next day's work, for the little jobs sent in by our other friends now and then put us back. But so determin'd I was to continue doing a sheet a day of the folio, that one night, when, having impos'd my forms, I thought my day's work over, one of them by accident was broken, and two pages reduced to pi, I immediately distributed and compos'd it over again before I went to bed; and this industry, visible to our neighbors, began to give us character and credit; particularly, I was told, that mention being made of the new printing-office at the merchants' Every-night club, the general opinion was that it must fail, there being already two printers in the place, Keimer and Bradford; but Dr. Baird (whom you and I saw many years after at his native place, St. Andrew's in Scotland) gave a contrary opinion: "For the industry of that Franklin," says he, "is superior to any thing I ever saw of the kind; I see him still at work when I go home from club, and he is at work again before his neighbors are out of bed." This struck the rest, and we soon after had offers from one of them to supply us with stationery; but as yet we did not choose to engage in shop business.

I mention this industry the more particularly and the more freely, tho' it seems to be talking in my own praise, that those of my posterity, who shall read it, may know the use of that virtue, when they see its effects in my favor throughout this relation.

George Webb, who had found a female friend that lent him wherewith to purchase his time of Keimer, now came to offer himself as a journeyman to us. We could not then employ him; but I foolishly let him know as a secret that I soon intended to begin a newspaper, and might then have work for him. My hopes of success, as I told him, were founded on this, that the then only newspaper, printed by Bradford, was a paltry thing, wretchedly manag'd, no way entertaining, and yet was profitable to him; I therefore thought a good paper would scarcely fail of good encouragement. I requested Webb not to mention it; but he told it to Keimer, who immediately, to be beforehand with me, published proposals for printing one himself, on which Webb was to be

employ'd. I resented this; and, to counteract them, as I could not yet begin our paper, I wrote several pieces of entertainment for Bradford's paper, under the title of the BUSY BODY, which Breintnal continu'd some months. By this means the attention of the public was fixed on that paper, and Keimer's proposals, which we burlesqu'd and ridicul'd, were disregarded. He began his paper, however, and, after carrying it on three quarters of a year, with at most only ninety subscribers, he offered it to me for a trifle; and I, having been ready some time to go on with it, took it in hand directly; and it prov'd in a few years extremely profitable to me.

I perceive that I am apt to speak in the singular number, though our partnership still continu'd; the reason may be that, in fact, the whole management of the business lay upon me. Meredith was no compositor, a poor pressman, and seldom sober. My friends lamented my connection with him, but I was to make the best of it.

Our first papers made a quite different appearance from any before in the province; a better type, and better printed; but some spirited remarks of my writing, on the dispute then going on between Governor Burnet and the Massachusetts Assembly, struck the principal people, occasioned the paper and the manager of it to be much talk'd of, and in a few weeks brought them all to be our subscribers.

Their example was follow'd by many, and our number went on growing continually. This was one of the first good effects of my having learned a little to scribble; another was, that the leading men, seeing a newspaper now in the hands of one who could also handle a pen, thought it convenient to oblige and encourage me. Bradford still printed the votes, and laws, and other public business. He had printed an address of the House to the governor, in a coarse, blundering manner, we reprinted it elegantly and correctly, and sent one to every member. They were sensible of the difference: it strengthened the hands of our friends in the House, and they voted us their printers for the year ensuing.

Among my friends in the House I must not forget Mr. Hamilton, before mentioned, who was then returned from

England, and had a seat in it. He interested himself for me strongly in that instance, as he did in many others afterward, continuing his patronage till his death.[5]

Mr. Vernon, about this time, put me in mind of the debt I ow'd him, but did not press me. I wrote him an ingenuous letter of acknowledgment, crav'd his forbearance a little longer, which he allow'd me, and as soon as I was able, I paid the principal with interest, and many thanks; so that erratum was in some degree corrected.

But now another difficulty came upon me which I had never the least reason to expect. Mr. Meredith's father, who was to have paid for our printing-house, according to the expectations given me, was able to advance only one hundred pounds currency, which had been paid; and a hundred more was due to the merchant, who grew impatient, and su'd us all. We gave bail, but saw that, if the money could not be rais'd in time, the suit must soon come to a judgment and execution, and our hopeful prospects must, with us, be ruined, as the press and letters must be sold for payment, perhaps at half price.

In this distress two true friends, whose kindness I have never forgotten, nor ever shall forget while I can remember any thing, came to me separately, unknown to each other, and, without any application from me, offering each of them to advance me all the money that should be necessary to enable me to take the whole business upon myself, if that should be practicable; but they did not like my continuing the partnership with Meredith, who, as they said, was often seen drunk in the streets, and playing at low games in alehouses, much to our discredit. These two friends were William Coleman and Robert Grace. I told them I could not propose a separation while any prospect remain'd of the Merediths fulfilling their part of our agreement, because I thought myself under great obligations to them for what they had done, and would do if they could; but, if they finally fail'd in their performance, and our partnership must be dissolv'd, I should then think myself at liberty to accept the assistance of my friends.

Thus the matter rested for some time, when I said to my

[5] I got his son once £500 [marginal note].

partner, "Perhaps your father is dissatisfied at the part you have undertaken in this affair of ours, and is unwilling to advance for you and me what he would for you alone. If that is the case, tell me, and I will resign the whole to you, and go about my business." "No," said he, "my father has really been disappointed, and is really unable; and I am unwilling to distress him farther. I see this is a business I am not fit for. I was bred a farmer, and it was a folly in me to come to town, and put myself, at thirty years of age, an apprentice to learn a new trade. Many of our Welsh people are going to settle in North Carolina, where land is cheap. I am inclin'd to go with them, and follow my old employment. You may find friends to assist you. If you will take the debts of the company upon you; return to my father the hundred pounds he has advanced; pay my little personal debts, and give me thirty pounds and a new saddle, I will relinquish the partnership, and leave the whole in your hands." I agreed to this proposal: it was drawn up in writing, sign'd, and seal'd immediately. I gave him what he demanded, and he went soon after to Carolina, from whence he sent me next year two long letters, containing the best account that had been given of that country, the climate, the soil, husbandry, etc., for in those matters he was very judicious. I printed them in the papers, and they gave great satisfaction to the public.

As soon as he was gone, I return'd to my two friends; and because I would not give an unkind preference to either, I took half of what each had offered and I wanted of one, and half of the other; paid off the company's debts, and went on with the business in my own name, advertising that the partnership was dissolved. I think this was in or about the year 1729.

About this time there was a cry among the people for more paper money, only fifteen thousand pounds being extant in the province, and that soon to be sunk. The wealthy inhabitants oppos'd any addition, being against all paper currency, from an apprehension that it would depreciate, as it had done in New England, to the prejudice of all creditors. We had discuss'd this point in our Junto, where I was on the side of an addition, being persuaded that the

first small sum struck in 1723 had done much good by increasing the trade, employment, and number of inhabitants in the province, since I now saw all the old houses inhabited, and many new ones building: whereas I remembered well, that when I first walk'd about the streets of Philadelphia, eating my roll, I saw most of the houses in Walnut-street, between Second and Front streets, with bills on their doors, "To be let"; and many likewise in Chestnut-street and other streets, which made me then think the inhabitants of the city were deserting it one after another.

Our debates possess'd me so fully of the subject, that I wrote and printed an anonymous pamphlet on it, entitled, *"The Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency."* It was well receiv'd by the common people in general; but the rich men dislik'd it, for it increas'd and strengthen'd the clamor for more money, and they happening to have no writers among them that were able to answer it, their opposition slacken'd, and the point was carried by a majority in the House. My friends there, who conceiv'd I had been of some service, thought fit to reward me by employing me in printing the money; a very profitable job and a great help to me. This was another advantage gain'd by my being able to write.

The utility of this currency became by time and experience so evident as never afterwards to be much disputed; so that it grew soon to fifty-five thousand pounds, and in 1739 to eighty thousand pounds, since which it arose during war to upwards of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds, trade, building, and inhabitants all the while increasing, tho' I now think there are limits beyond which the quantity may be hurtful.

I soon after obtain'd, thro' my friend Hamilton, the printing of the Newcastle paper money, another profitable job as I then thought it; small things appearing great to those in small circumstances; and these, to me, were really great advantages, as they were great encouragements. He procured for me, also, the printing of the laws and votes of that government, which continu'd in my hands as long as I follow'd the business.

I now open'd a little stationer's shop. I had in it blanks

of all sorts, the correctest that ever appear'd among us, being assisted in that by my friend Breintnal. I had also paper, parchment, chapmen's books, etc. One Whitemash, a compositor I had known in London, an excellent workman, now came to me, and work'd with me constantly and diligently; and I took an apprentice, the son of Aquila Rose.

I began now gradually to pay off the debt I was under for the printing-house. In order to secure my credit and character as a tradesman, I took care not only to be in *reality* industrious and frugal, but to avoid all appearances to the contrary. I dressed plainly; I was seen at no places of idle diversion. I never went out a fishing or shooting; a book, indeed, sometimes debauch'd me from my work, but that was seldom, snug, and gave no scandal; and, to show that I was not above my business, I sometimes brought home the paper I purchas'd at the stores thro' the streets on a wheelbarrow. Thus being esteem'd an industrious, thriving young man, and paying duly for what I bought, the merchants who imported stationery solicited my custom; others proposed supplying me with books, and I went on swimmingly. In the mean time, Keimer's credit and business declining daily, he was at last forc'd to sell his printing-house to satisfy his creditors. He went to Barbadoes, and there lived some years in very poor circumstances.

His apprentice, David Harry, whom I had instructed while I work'd with him, set up in his place at Philadelphia, having bought his materials. I was at first apprehensive of a powerful rival in Harry, as his friends were very able, and had a good deal of interest. I therefore propos'd a partnership to him, which he, fortunately for me, rejected with scorn. He was very proud, dress'd like a gentleman, liv'd expensively, took much diversion and pleasure abroad, ran in debt, and neglected his business; upon which, all business left him; and, finding nothing to do, he followed Keimer to Barbadoes, taking the printing-house with him. There this apprentice employ'd his former master as a journeyman; they quarrel'd often; Harry went continually behindhand, and at length was forc'd to sell his types and return to his country work in Pennsylvania. The person that bought them employ'd Keimer to use them, but in a few years he died.

There remained now no competitor with me at Philadelphia but the old one, Bradford; who was rich and easy, did a little printing now and then by straggling hands, but was not very anxious about the business. However, as he kept the post-office, it was imagined he had better opportunities of obtaining news; his paper was thought a better distributer of advertisements than mine, and therefore had many more, which was a profitable thing to him, and a disadvantage to me; for, tho' I did indeed receive and send papers by the post, yet the public opinion was otherwise, for what I did send was by bribing the riders, who took them privately, Bradford being unkind enough to forbid it, which occasion'd some resentment on my part; and I thought so meanly of him for it, that, when I afterward came into his situation, I took care never to imitate it.

I had hitherto continu'd to board with Godfrey, who lived in part of my house with his wife and children, and had one side of the shop for his glazier's business, tho' he worked little, being always absorbed in his mathematics. Mrs. Godfrey projected a match for me with a relation's daughter, took opportunities of bringing us often together, till a serious courtship on my part ensu'd, the girl being in herself very deserving. The old folks encourag'd me by continual invitations to supper, and by leaving us together, till at length it was time to explain. Mrs. Godfrey manag'd our little treaty. I let her know that I expected as much money with their daughter as would pay off my remaining debt for the printing-house, which I believe was not then above a hundred pounds. She brought me word they had no such sum to spare; I said they might mortgage their house in the loan-office. The answer to this, after some days, was, that they did not approve the match; that, on inquiry of Bradford, they had been informed the printing business was not a profitable one; the types would soon be worn out, and more wanted; that S. Keimer and D. Harry had failed one after the other, and I should probably soon follow them; and, therefore, I was forbidden the house, and the daughter shut up.

Whether this was a real change of sentiment or only artifice, on a supposition of our being too far engaged in affection to retract, and therefore that we should steal a

marriage, which would leave them at liberty to give or withhold what they pleas'd, I know not; but I suspected the latter, resented it, and went no more. Mrs. Godfrey brought me afterward some more favorable accounts of their disposition, and would have drawn me on again; but I declared absolutely my resolution to have nothing more to do with that family. This was resented by the Godfreys; we differ'd, and they removed, leaving me the whole house, and I resolved to take no more inmates.

But this affair having turned my thoughts to marriage, I look'd round me and made overtures of acquaintance in other places; but soon found that, the business of a printer being generally thought a poor one, I was not to expect money with a wife, unless with such a one as I should not otherwise think agreeable. In the mean time, that hard-to-be-governed passion of youth hurried me frequently into intrigues with low women that fell in my way, which were attended with some expense and great inconvenience, besides a continual risk to my health by a distemper which of all things I dreaded, though by great good luck I escaped it. A friendly correspondence as neighbors and old acquaintances had continued between me and Mrs. Read's family, who all had a regard for me from the time of my first lodging in their house. I was often invited there and consulted in their affairs, wherein I sometimes was of service. I piti'd poor Miss Read's unfortunate situation, who was generally dejected, seldom cheerful, and avoided company. I considered my giddiness and inconstancy when in London as in a great degree the cause of her unhappiness, tho' the mother was good enough to think the fault more her own than mine, as she had prevented our marrying before I went thither, and persuaded the other match in my absence. Our mutual affection was revived, but there were now great objections to our union. The match was indeed looked upon as invalid, a preceding wife being said to be living in England; but this could not easily be prov'd, because of the distance; and, tho' there was a report of his death, it was not certain. Then, tho' it should be true, he had left many debts, which his successor might be call'd upon to pay. We ventured, however, over all these difficulties, and I took her to wife,

September 1st, 1730. None of the inconveniences happened that we had apprehended; she proved a good and faithful helpmate, assisted me much by attending the shop; we throve together, and have ever mutually endeavor'd to make each other happy. Thus I corrected that great *erratum* as well as I could.

About this time, our club meeting, not at a tavern, but in a little room of Mr. Grace's, set apart for that purpose, a proposition was made by me, that, since our books were often referr'd to in our disquisitions upon the queries, it might be convenient to us to have them altogether where we met, that upon occasion they might be consulted; and by thus clubbing our books to a common library, we should, while we lik'd to keep them together, have each of us the advantage of using the books of all the other members, which would be nearly as beneficial as if each owned the whole. It was lik'd and agreed to, and we fill'd one end of the room with such books as we could best spare. The number was not so great as we expected; and tho' they had been of great use, yet some inconveniences occurring for want of due care of them, the collection, after about a year, was separated, and each took his books home again.

And now I set on foot my first project of a public nature, that for a subscription library. I drew up the proposals, got them put into form by our great scrivener, Brockden, and, by the help of my friends in the Junto, procured fifty subscribers of forty shillings each to begin with, and ten shillings a year for fifty years, the term our company was to continue. We afterwards obtain'd a charter, the company being increased to one hundred: this was the mother of all the North American subscription libraries, now so numerous. It is become a great thing itself, and continually increasing. These libraries have improved the general conversation of the Americans, made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the colonies in defense of their privileges.

Memo., Thus far was written with the intention express'd in the beginning and therefore contains several little family anecdotes of no importance to others. What follows was

written many years after in compliance with the advice contain'd in these letters, and accordingly intended for the public. The affairs of the Revolution occasion'd the interruption.

[Here follow the letters of two friends urging the continuance of the autobiography.]

CONTINUATION OF THE ACCOUNT OF MY LIFE, BEGUN AT PASSY, NEAR PARIS, 1784

It is some time since I receiv'd the above letters, but I have been too busy till now to think of complying with the request they contain. It might, too, be much better done if I were at home among my papers, which would aid my memory, and help to ascertain dates; but my return being uncertain, and having just now a little leisure, I will endeavor to recollect and write what I can; if I live to get home, it may there be corrected and improv'd.

Not having any copy here of what is already written, I know not whether an account is given of the means I used to establish the Philadelphia public library, which, from a small beginning, is now become so considerable, though I remember to have come down to near the time of that transaction (1730). I will therefore begin here with an account of it, which may be struck out if found to have been already given.

At the time I establish'd myself in Pennsylvania, there was not a good bookseller's shop in any of the colonies to the southward of Boston. In New York and Philad'a the printers were indeed stationers; they sold only paper, etc., almanacs, ballads, and a few common school-books. Those who lov'd reading were oblig'd to send for their books from England; the members of the Junto had each a few. We had left the alehouse, where we first met, and hired a room to hold our club in. I propos'd that we should all of us bring our books to that room, where they would not only be ready to consult in our conferences, but become a common benefit, each of us being at liberty to borrow such as he wish'd to read at home. This was accordingly done, and for some time contented us.

Finding the advantage of this little collection, I propos'd to render the benefit from books more common, by commencing a public subscription library. I drew a sketch of the plan and rules that would be necessary, and got a skillful conveyancer, Mr. Charles Brockden, to put the whole in form of articles of agreement to be subscribed, by which each subscriber engag'd to pay a certain sum down for the first purchase of books, and an annual contribution for increasing them. So few were the readers at that time in Philadelphia, and the majority of us so poor, that I was not able, with great industry, to find more than fifty persons, mostly young tradesmen, willing to pay down for this purpose forty shillings each, and ten shillings per annum. On this little fund we began. The books were imported; the library was opened one day in the week for lending to the subscribers, on their promissory notes to pay double the value if not duly returned. The institution soon manifested its utility, was imitated by other towns, and in other provinces. The libraries were augmented by donations; reading became fashionable; and our people, having no public amusements to divert their attention from study, became better acquainted with books, and in a few years were observ'd by strangers to be better instructed and more intelligent than people of the same rank generally are in other countries.

When we were about to sign the above-mentioned articles, which were to be binding on us, our heirs, etc., for fifty years, Mr. Brockden, the scrivener, said to us, "You are young men, but it is scarcely probable that any of you will live to see the expiration of the term fix'd in the instrument." A number of us, however, are yet living; but the instrument was after a few years rendered null by a charter that incorporated and gave perpetuity to the company.

The objections and reluctances I met with in soliciting the subscriptions, made me soon feel the impropriety of presenting one's self as the proposer of any useful project, that might be suppos'd to raise one's reputation in the smallest degree above that of one's neighbors, when one has need of their assistance to accomplish that project. I therefore put myself as much as I could out of sight, and stated it as a scheme of a *number of friends,* who had requested me to go

about and propose it to such as they thought lovers of reading. In this way my affair went on more smoothly, and I ever after practic'd it on such occasions; and, from my frequent successes, can heartily recommend it. The present little sacrifice of your vanity will afterwards be amply repaid. If it remains a while uncertain to whom the merit belongs, some one more vain than yourself will be encouraged to claim it, and then even envy will be disposed to do you justice by plucking those assumed feathers, and restoring them to their right owner.

This library afforded me the means of improvement by constant study, for which I set apart an hour or two each day, and thus repair'd in some degree the loss of the learned education my father once intended for me. Reading was the only amusement I allow'd myself. I spent no time in taverns, games, or frolics of any kind; and my industry in my business continu'd as indefatigable as it was necessary. I was indebted for my printing-house; I had a young family coming on to be educated, and I had to contend with for business two printers, who were established in the place before me. My circumstances, however, grew daily easier. My original habits of frugality continuing, and my father having, among his instructions to me when a boy, frequently repeated a proverb of Solomon, "Seest thou a man diligent in his calling, he shall stand before kings, he shall not stand before mean men," I from thence considered industry as a means of obtaining wealth and distinction, which encourag'd me, tho' I did not think that I should ever literally *stand before kings,* which, however, has since happened; for I have stood before *five,* and even had the honor of sitting down with one, the King of Denmark, to dinner.

We have an English proverb that says, *"He that would thrive, must ask his wife."* It was lucky for me that I had one as much dispos'd to industry and frugality as myself. She assisted me cheerfully in my business, folding and stitching pamphlets, tending shop, purchasing old linen rags for the papermakers, etc., etc. We kept no idle servants, our table was plain and simple, our furniture of the cheapest. For instance, my breakfast was a long time bread and milk (no tea), and I ate it out of a twopenny earthen porringer,

with a pewter spoon. But mark how luxury will enter families, and make a progress, in spite of principle: being call'd one morning to breakfast, I found it in a China bowl, with a spoon of silver! They had been bought for me without my knowledge by my wife, and had cost her the enormous sum of three-and-twenty shillings, for which she had no other excuse or apology to make, but that she thought *her* husband deserv'd a silver spoon and China bowl as well as any of his neighbors. This was the first appearance of plate and China in our house, which afterward, in a course of years, as our wealth increas'd, augmented gradually to several hundred pounds in value.

I had been religiously educated as a Presbyterian; and tho' some of the dogmas of that persuasion, such as *the eternal decrees of God, election, reprobation, etc.,* appeared to me unintelligible, others doubtful, and I early absented myself from the public assemblies of the sect, Sunday being my studying day, I never was without some religious principles. I never doubted, for instance, the existence of the Deity; that he made the world, and govern'd it by his Providence; that the most acceptable service of God was the doing good to man; that our souls are immortal; and that all crime will be punished, and virtue rewarded, either here or hereafter. These I esteem'd the essentials of every religion; and, being to be found in all the religions we had in our country, I respected them all, tho' with different degrees of respect, as I found them more or less mix'd with other articles, which, without any tendency to inspire, promote, or confirm morality, serv'd principally to divide us, and make us unfriendly to one another. This respect to all, with an opinion that the worst had some good effects, induc'd me to avoid all discourse that might tend to lessen the good opinion another might have of his own religion; and as our province increas'd in people, and new places of worship were continually wanted, and generally erected by voluntary contribution, my mite for such purpose, whatever might be the sect, was never refused.

Tho' I seldom attended any public worship, I had still an opinion of its propriety, and of its utility when rightly conducted, and I regularly paid my annual subscription for the

support of the only Presbyterian minister or meeting we had in Philadelphia. He us'd to visit me sometimes as a friend, and admonish me to attend his administrations, and I was now and then prevail'd on to do so, once for five Sundays successively. Had he been in my opinion a good preacher, perhaps I might have continued, notwithstanding the occasion I had for the Sunday's leisure in my course of study; but his discourses were chiefly either polemic arguments, or explications of the peculiar doctrines of our sect, and were all to me very dry, uninteresting, and unedifying, since not a single moral principle was inculcated or enforc'd, their aim seeming to be rather to make us ardent Presbyterians than good citizens.

At length he took for his text that verse of the fourth chapter of Philippians, *"Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, or of good report, if there be any virtue, or any praise, think on these things."* And I imagin'd, in a sermon on such a text, we could not miss of having some morality. But he confin'd himself to five points only, as meant by the apostle, viz.: 1. Keeping holy the Sabbath day. 2. Being diligent in reading the holy Scriptures. 3. Attending duly the public worship. 4. Partaking of the Sacrament. 5. Paying a due respect to God's ministers. These might be all good things; but, as they were not the kind of good things that I expected from that text, I despaired of ever meeting with them from any other, was disgusted, and attended his preaching no more. I had some years before compos'd a little Liturgy, or form of prayer, for my own private use (viz., in 1728), entitled, *Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion.* I return'd to the use of this, and went no more to the public assemblies. My conduct might be blameable, but I leave it, without attempting further to excuse it; my present purpose being to relate facts, and not to make apologies for them.

It was about this time I conceiv'd the bold and arduous project of arriving at moral perfection. I wish'd to live without committing any fault at any time; I would conquer all that either natural inclination, custom, or company might lead me into. As I knew, or thought I knew, what was right and wrong, I did not see why I might not always do the

one and avoid the other. But I soon found I had undertaken a task of more difficulty than I had imagined. While my care was employ'd in guarding against one fault, I was often surprised by another; habit took the advantage of inattention; inclination was sometimes too strong for reason. I concluded, at length, that the mere speculative conviction that it was our interest to be completely virtuous, was not sufficient to prevent our slipping; and that the contrary habits must be broken, and good ones acquired and established, before we can have any dependence on a steady, uniform rectitude of conduct. For this purpose I therefore contrived the following method.

In the various enumerations of the moral virtues I had met with in my reading, I found the catalogue more or less numerous, as different writers included more or fewer ideas under the same name. Temperance, for example, was by some confined to eating and drinking, while by others it was extended to mean the moderating every other pleasure, appetite, inclination, or passion, bodily or mental, even to our avarice and ambition. I propos'd to myself, for the sake of clearness, to use rather more names, with fewer ideas annex'd to each, than a few names with more ideas; and I included under thirteen names of virtues all that at that time occurr'd to me as necessary or desirable, and annexed to each a short precept, which fully express'd the extent I gave to its meaning.

These names of virtues, with their precepts, were:

1. Temperance. Eat not to dullness; drink not to elevation.
2. Silence. Speak not but what may benefit others or yourself; avoid trifling conversation.
3. Order. Let all your things have their places; let each part of your business have its time.
4. Resolution. Resolve to perform what you ought; perform without fail what you resolve.
5. Frugality. Make no expense but to do good to others or yourself; *i.e.,* waste nothing.
6. Industry. Lose no time; be always employ'd in something useful; cut off all unnecessary actions.

7. Sincerity. Use no hurtful deceit; think innocently and justly, and, if you speak, speak accordingly.

8. Justice. Wrong none by doing injuries, or omitting the benefits that are your duty.

9. Moderation. Avoid extremes; forbear resenting injuries so much as you think they deserve.

10. Cleanliness. Tolerate no uncleanliness in body, clothes, or habitation.

11. Tranquillity. Be not disturbed at trifles, or at accidents common or unavoidable.

12. Chastity. Rarely use venery but for health or offspring, never to dullness, weakness, or the injury of your own or another's peace or reputation.

13. Humility. Imitate Jesus and Socrates.

My intention being to acquire the *habitude* of all these virtues, I judg'd it would be well not to distract my attention by attempting the whole at once, but to fix it on one of them at a time; and, when I should be master of that, then to proceed to another, and so on, till I should have gone through the thirteen; and, as the previous acquisition of some might facilitate the acquisition of certain others, I arrang'd them with that view, as they stand above. Temperance first, as it tends to procure that coolness and clearness of head, which is so necessary where constant vigilance was to be kept up, and guard maintained against the unremitting attraction of ancient habits, and the force of perpetual temptations. This being acquir'd and establish'd, Silence would be more easy; and my desire being to gain knowledge at the same time that I improv'd in virtue, and considering that in conversation it was obtain'd rather by the use of the ears than of the tongue, and therefore wishing to break a habit I was getting into of prattling, punning, and joking, which only made me acceptable to trifling company, I gave *Silence* the second place. This and the next, *Order,* I expected would allow me more time for attending to my project and my studies. *Resolution,* once become habitual, would keep me firm in my endeavors to obtain all the subsequent virtues; *Frugality* and Industry freeing me from my remaining debt, and producing affluence and independence, would make more easy the practice of Sin-

cerity and Justice, etc., etc. Conceiving then, that, agreeably to the advice of Pythagoras in his Golden Verses, daily examination would be necessary, I contrived the following method for conducting that examination.

I made a little book, in which I allotted a page for each of the virtues. I rul'd each page with red ink, so as to have seven columns, one for each day of the week, marking each column with a letter for the day. I cross'd these columns with thirteen red lines, marking the beginning of each line with the first letter of one of the virtues, on which line, and in its proper column, I might mark, by a little black spot, every fault I found upon examination to have been committed respecting that virtue upon that day. I determined to give a week's strict attention to each of the virtues successively. Thus, in the first week, my great guard was to avoid even the least offense against *Temperance,* leaving the other virtues to their ordinary chance, only marking every evening the faults of the day. Thus, if in the first week I could keep my first line, marked T, clear of spots, I suppos'd the habit of that virtue so much strengthen'd, and its opposite weaken'd, that I might venture extending my attention to include the next, and for the following week keep both lines clear of spots. Proceeding thus to the last, I could go through a course complete in thirteen weeks, and four courses in a year. And like him who, having a garden to weed, does not attempt to eradicate all the bad herbs at once, which would exceed his reach and his strength, but works on one of the beds at a time, and, having accomplish'd the first, proceeds to a second, so I should have, I hoped, the encouraging pleasure of seeing on my pages the progress I made in virtue, by clearing successively my lines of their spots, till in the end, by a number of courses, I should be happy in viewing a clean book, after a thirteen weeks' daily examination.

This my little book had for its motto these lines from Addison's *Cato:*

> "Here will I hold. If there's a power above us
> (And that there is, all nature cries aloud
> Thro' all her works), He must delight in virtue;
> And that which he delights in must be happy."

Another from Cicero:

"O vitæ Philosophia dux! O virtutum indagatrix expultrixque vitiorum! Unus dies, bene et ex præceptis tuis actus, peccanti immortalitati est anteponendus."

Another from the Proverbs of Solomon, speaking of wisdom or virtue:

"Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honor. Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace." iii. 16, 17.

And conceiving God to be the fountain of wisdom, I thought it right and necessary to solicit his assistance for obtaining it; to this end I formed the following little prayer, which was prefix'd to my tables of examination, for daily use.

"O powerful Goodness! bountiful Father! merciful Guide! Increase in me that wisdom which discovers my truest interest. Strengthen my resolutions to perform what that wisdom dictates. Accept my kind offices to thy other children as the only return in my power for thy continual favors to me."

I used also sometimes a little prayer which I took from Thomson's Poems, viz.:

"Father of light and life, thou Good Supreme!
O teach me what is good; teach me Thyself!
Save me from folly, vanity, and vice,
From every low pursuit; and fill my soul
With knowledge, conscious peace, and virtue pure;
Sacred, substantial, never-fading bliss!"

The precept of *Order* requiring that *every part of my business should have its allotted time,* one page in my little book contain'd the following scheme of employment for the twenty-four hours of a natural day.

THE MORNING.	5	Rise, wash, and address *Powerful Goodness!* Contrive day's business, and take the resolution of the day; prosecute the present study, and breakfast.
Question. What good shall I do this day?	6	
	7	

	8, 9, 10, 11	Work.
Noon.	12, 1	Read, or overlook my accounts, and dine.
	2, 3, 4, 5	Work.
Evening.	6, 7, 8, 9	Put things in their places. Supper. Music or diversion, or conversation. Examination of the day.
Question. What good have I done to-day?		
Night.	10, 11, 12, 1, 2, 3, 4	Sleep.

I enter'd upon the execution of this plan for self-examination, and continu'd it with occasional intermissions for some time. I was surpris'd to find myself so much fuller of faults than I had imagined; but I had the satisfaction of seeing them diminish. To avoid the trouble of renewing now and then my little book, which, by scraping out the marks on the paper of old faults to make room for new ones in a new course, became full of holes, I transferr'd my tables and precepts to the ivory leaves of a memorandum book, on which the lines were drawn with red ink, that made a durable stain, and on those lines I mark'd my faults with a black-lead pencil, which marks I could easily wipe out with a wet sponge. After a while I went through one course only in a year, and afterward only one in several years, till at length I omitted them entirely, being employ'd in voyages and business abroad, with a multiplicity of affairs that interfered; but I always carried my little book with me.

My scheme of Order gave me the most trouble; and I found that, though it might be practicable where a man's business was such as to leave him the disposition of his time, that of a journeyman printer, for instance, it was not possible to be exactly observed by a master, who must mix with the world,

and often receive people of business at their own hours. *Order,* too, with regard to places for things, papers, etc., I found extremely difficult to acquire. I had not been early accustomed to it, and, having an exceeding good memory, I was not so sensible of the inconvenience attending want of method. This article, therefore, cost me so much painful attention, and my faults in it vexed me so much, and I made so little progress in amendment, and had such frequent relapses, that I was almost ready to give up the attempt, and content myself with a faulty character in that respect, like the man who, in buying an ax of a smith, my neighbor, desired to have the whole of its surface as bright as the edge. The smith consented to grind it bright for him if he would turn the wheel; he turn'd, while the smith press'd the broad face of the ax hard and heavily on the stone, which made the turning of it very fatiguing. The man came every now and then from the wheel to see how the work went on, and at length would take his ax as it was, without farther grinding. "No," said the smith, "turn on, turn on; we shall have it bright by-and-by; as yet, it is only speckled." "Yes," says the man, *"but I think I like a speckled ax best."* And I believe this may have been the case with many, who, having, for want of some such means as I employ'd, found the difficulty of obtaining good and breaking bad habits in other points of vice and virtue, have given up the struggle, and concluded that *"a speckled ax was best";* for something, that pretended to be reason, was every now and then suggesting to me that such extreme nicety as I exacted of myself might be a kind of foppery in morals, which, if it were known, would make me ridiculous; that a perfect character might be attended with the inconvenience of being envied and hated; and that a benevolent man should allow a few faults in himself, to keep his friends in countenance.

In truth, I found myself incorrigible with respect to Order; and now I am grown old, and my memory bad, I feel very sensibly the want of it. But, on the whole, though I never arrived at the perfection I had been so ambitious of obtaining, but fell far short of it, yet I was, by the endeavor, a better and a happier man than I otherwise should have been if I had not attempted it; as those who aim at perfect writing

by imitating the engraved copies, though they never reach the wish'd-for excellence of those copies, their hand is mended by the endeavor, and is tolerable while it continues fair and legible.

It may be well my posterity should be informed that to this little artifice, with the blessing of God, their ancestor ow'd the constant felicity of his life, down to his 79th year, in which this is written. What reverses may attend the remainder is in the hand of Providence; but, if they arrive, the reflection on past happiness enjoy'd ought to help his bearing them with more resignation. To Temperance he ascribes his long-continued health, and what is still left to him of a good constitution; to Industry and Frugality, the early easiness of his circumstances and acquisition of his fortune, with all that knowledge that enabled him to be a useful citizen, and obtained for him some degree of reputation among the learned; to Sincerity and Justice, the confidence of his country, and the honorable employs it conferred upon him; and to the joint influence of the whole mass of the virtues, even in the imperfect state he was able to acquire them, all that evenness of temper, and that cheerfulness in conversation, which makes his company still sought for, and agreeable even to his younger acquaintance. I hope, therefore, that some of my descendants may follow the example and reap the benefit.

It will be remark'd that, though my scheme was not wholly without religion, there was in it no mark of any of the distinguishing tenets of any particular sect. I had purposely avoided them; for, being fully persuaded of the utility and excellency of my method, and that it might be serviceable to people in all religions, and intending some time or other to publish it, I would not have anything in it that should prejudice any one, of any sect, against it. I purposed writing a little comment on each virtue, in which I would have shown the advantages of possessing it, and the mischiefs attending its opposite vice; and I should have called my book THE ART OF VIRTUE,[6] because it would have shown the means and manner of obtaining virtue, which would have distinguished it from the mere exhortation to be good, that does not instruct and indicate the means, but is like the apostle's man of verbal

[6] Nothing so likely to make a man's fortune as virtue.—*Marginal note.*

charity, who only without showing to the naked and hungry how or where they might get clothes or victuals, exhorted them to be fed and clothed.—James ii. 15, 16.

But it so happened that my intention of writing and publishing this comment was never fulfilled. I did, indeed, from time to time, put down short hints of the sentiments, reasonings, etc., to be made use of in it, some of which I have still by me; but the necessary close attention to private business in the earlier part of my life, and public business since, have occasioned my postponing it; for, it being connected in my mind with *a great and extensive project,* that required the whole man to execute, and which an unforeseen succession of employs prevented my attending to, it has hitherto remain'd unfinish'd.

In this piece it was my design to explain and enforce this doctrine, that vicious actions are not hurtful because they are forbidden, but forbidden because they are hurtful, the nature of man alone considered; that it was, therefore, every one's interest to be virtuous who wish'd to be happy even in this world; and I should, from this circumstance (there being always in the world a number of rich merchants, nobility, states, and princes, who have need of honest instruments for the management of their affairs, and such being so rare), have endeavored to convince young persons that no qualities were so likely to make a poor man's fortune as those of probity and integrity.

My list of virtues contain'd at first but twelve; but a Quaker friend having kindly informed me that I was generally thought proud; that my pride show'd itself frequently in conversation; that I was not content with being in the right when discussing any point, but was overbearing, and rather insolent, of which he convinc'd me by mentioning several instances; I determined endeavoring to cure myself, if I could, of this vice or folly among the rest, and I added *Humility* to my list, giving an extensive meaning to the word.

I cannot boast of much success in acquiring the *reality* of this virtue, but I had a good deal with regard to the *appearance* of it. I made it a rule to forbear all direct contradiction to the sentiments of others, and all positive assertion of my own. I even forbid myself, agreeably to the old laws of our

Junto, the use of every word or expression in the language that imported a fix'd opinion, such as *certainly, undoubtedly,* etc., and I adopted, instead of them, *I conceive, I apprehend,* or *I imagine* a thing to be so or so; or it *so appears to me at present.* When another asserted something that I thought an error, I deny'd myself the pleasure of contradicting him abruptly, and of showing immediately some absurdity in his proposition; and in answering I began by observing that in certain cases or circumstances his opinion would be right, but in the present case there *appear'd* or *seem'd* to me some difference, etc. I soon found the advantage of this change in my manner; the conversations I engag'd in went on more pleasantly. The modest way in which I propos'd my opinions procur'd them a readier reception and less contradiction; I had less mortification when I was found to be in the wrong, and I more easily prevail'd with others to give up their mistakes and join with me when I happened to be in the right.

And this mode, which I at first put on with some violence to natural inclination, became at length so easy, and so habitual to me, that perhaps for these fifty years past no one has ever heard a dogmatical expression escape me. And to this habit (after my character of integrity) I think it principally owing that I had early so much weight with my fellow-citizens when I proposed new institutions, or alterations in the old, and so much influence in public councils when I became a member; for I was but a bad speaker, never eloquent, subject to much hesitation in my choice of words, hardly correct in language, and yet I generally carried my points.

In reality, there is, perhaps, no one of our natural passions so hard to subdue as *pride.* Disguise it, struggle with it, beat it down, stifle it, mortify it as much as one pleases, it is still alive, and will every now and then peep out and show itself; you will see it, perhaps, often in this history; for, even if I could conceive that I had completely overcome it, I should probably be proud of my humility.

Thus far written at Passy, 1784.

WRITTEN IN PHILADELPHIA IN 1788

Having mentioned *a great and extensive project* which I had conceiv'd, it seems proper that some account should be here

given of that project and its object. Its first rise in my mind appears in the following little paper, accidentally preserv'd, viz.:

Observations on my reading history, in Library, May 19th, 1731.

"That the great affairs of the world, the wars, revolutions, etc., are carried on and effected by parties.

"That the view of these parties is their present general interest, or what they take to be such.

"That the different views of these different parties occasion all confusion.

"That while a party is carrying on a general design, each man has his particular private interest in view.

"That as soon as a party has gain'd its general point, each member becomes intent upon his particular interest; which, thwarting others, breaks that party into divisions, and occasions more confusion.

"That few in public affairs act from a mere view of the good of their country, whatever they may pretend; and, though their actings bring real good to their country, yet men primarily considered that their own and their country's interest was united, and did not act from a principle of benevolence.

"That fewer still, in public affairs, act with a view to the good of mankind.

"There seems to me at present to be great occasion for raising a United Party for Virtue, by forming the virtuous and good men of all nations into a regular body, to be govern'd by suitable good and wise rules, which good and wise men may probably be more unanimous in their obedience to, than common people are to common laws.

"I at present think that whoever attempts this aright, and is well qualified, cannot fail of pleasing God, and of meeting with success. B. F."

Revolving this project in my mind, as to be undertaken hereafter, when my circumstances should afford me the necessary leisure, I put down from time to time, on pieces of paper, such thoughts as occurr'd to me respecting it. Most of these are lost; but I find one purporting to be the substance of an intended creed, containing, as I thought, the essentials of every known religion, and being free of everything that

might shock the professors of any religion. It is express'd in these words, viz.:

"That there is one God, who made all things.

"That he governs the world by his providence.

"That he ought to be worshiped by adoration, prayer, and thanksgiving.

"But that the most acceptable service of God is doing good to man.

"That the soul is immortal.

"And that God will certainly reward virtue and punish vice, either here or hereafter."[7]

My ideas at that time were, that the sect should be begun and spread at first among young and single men only; that each person to be initiated should not only declare his assent to such creed, but should have exercised himself with the thirteen weeks' examination and practice of the virtues, as in the before-mention'd model; that the existence of such a society should be kept a secret, till it was become considerable, to prevent solicitations for the admission of improper persons, but that the members should each of them search among his acquaintance for ingenuous, well-disposed youths, to whom, with prudent caution, the scheme should be gradually communicated; that the members should engage to afford their advice, assistance, and support to each other in promoting one another's interests, business, and advancement in life; that, for distinction, we should be call'd *The Society of the Free and Easy:* free, as being, by the general practice and habit of the virtues, free from the dominion of vice; and particularly by the practice of industry and frugality, free from debt, which exposes a man to confinement, and a species of slavery to his creditors.

This is as much as I can now recollect of the project, except that I communicated it in part to two young men, who adopted it with some enthusiasm; but my then narrow circumstances, and the necessity I was under of sticking close to my business, occasion'd my postponing the further prosecution of it at that time; and my multifarious occupations, public and pri-

[7] In the Middle Ages, Franklin, if such a phenomenon as Franklin were possible in the Middle Ages, would probably have been the founder of a monastic order.

vate, induc'd me to continue postponing, so that it has been omitted till I have no longer strength or activity left sufficient for such an enterprise; though I am still of opinion that it was a practicable scheme, and might have been very useful, by forming a great number of good citizens; and I was not discourag'd by the seeming magnitude of the undertaking, as I have always thought that one man of tolerable abilities may work great changes, and accomplish great affairs among mankind, if he first forms a good plan, and, cutting off all amusements or other employments that would divert his attention, makes the execution of that same plan his sole study and business.

In 1732 I first publish'd my Almanac, under the name of *Richard Saunders;* it was continu'd by me about twenty-five years, commonly call'd *Poor Richard's Almanac.* I endeavor'd to make it both entertaining and useful, and it accordingly came to be in such demand, that I reap'd considerable profit from it, vending annually near ten thousand. And observing that it was generally read, scarce any neighborhood in the province being without it, I consider'd it as a proper vehicle for conveying instruction among the common people, who bought scarcely any other books; I therefore filled all the little spaces that occurr'd between the remarkable days in the calendar with proverbial sentences, chiefly such as inculcated industry and frugality, as the means of procuring wealth, and thereby securing virtue; it being more difficult for a man in want, to act always honestly, as, to use here one of those proverbs, *it is hard for an empty sack to stand upright.*

These proverbs, which contained the wisdom of many ages and nations, I assembled and form'd into a connected discourse prefix'd to the Almanac of 1757, as the harangue of a wise old man to the people attending an auction. The bringing all these scatter'd counsels thus into a focus enabled them to make greater impression. The piece, being universally approved, was copied in all the newspapers of the Continent; reprinted in Britain on a broad side, to be stuck up in houses; two translations were made of it in French, and great numbers bought by the clergy and gentry, to distribute gratis among their poor parishioners and tenants. In Pennsylvania,

as it discouraged useless expense in foreign superfluities, some thought it had its share of influence in producing that growing plenty of money which was observable for several years after its publication.

I considered my newspaper, also, as another means of communicating instruction, and in that view frequently reprinted in it extracts from the Spectator, and other moral writers; and sometimes publish'd little pieces of my own, which had been first compos'd for reading in our Junto. Of these are a Socratic dialogue, tending to prove that, whatever might be his parts and abilities, a vicious man could not properly be called a man of sense; and a discourse on self-denial, showing that virtue was not secure till its practice became a habitude, and was free from the opposition of contrary inclinations. These may be found in the papers about the beginning of 1735.

In the conduct of my newspaper, I carefully excluded all libeling and personal abuse, which is of late years become so disgraceful to our country. Whenever I was solicited to insert anything of that kind, and the writers pleaded, as they generally did, the liberty of the press, and that a newspaper was like a stage-coach, in which any one who would pay had a right to a place, my answer was, that I would print the piece separately if desired, and the author might have as many copies as he pleased to distribute himself, but that I would not take upon me to spread his detraction; and that, having contracted with my subscribers to furnish them with what might be either useful or entertaining, I could not fill their papers with private altercation, in which they had no concern, without doing them manifest injustice. Now, many of our printers make no scruple of gratifying the malice of individuals by false accusations of the fairest characters among ourselves, augmenting animosity even to the producing of duels; and are, moreover, so indiscreet as to print scurrilous reflections on the government of neighboring states, and even on the conduct of our best national allies, which may be attended with the most pernicious consequences. These things I mention as a caution to young printers, and that they may be encouraged not to pollute their presses and disgrace their profession by such infamous practices, but refuse stead-

ily, as they may see by my example that such a course of conduct will not, on the whole, be injurious to their best interests.

In 1733 I sent one of my journeymen to Charleston, South Carolina, where a printer was wanting. I furnish'd him with a press and letters, on an agreement of partnership, by which I was to receive one-third of the profits of the business, paying one-third of the expense. He was a man of learning, and honest but ignorant in matters of account; and, though he sometimes made me remittances, I could get no account from him, nor any satisfactory state of our partnership while he lived. On his decease, the business was continued by his widow, who, being born and bred in Holland, where, as I have been inform'd, the knowledge of accounts makes a part of female education, she not only sent me as clear a state as she could find of the transactions past, but continued to account with the greatest regularity and exactness every quarter afterwards, and managed the business with such success, that she not only brought up reputably a family of children, but, at the expiration of the term, was able to purchase of me the printing-house, and establish her son in it.

I mention this affair chiefly for the sake of recommending that branch of education for our young females, as likely to be of more use to them and their children, in case of widowhood, than either music or dancing, by preserving them from losses by imposition of crafty men, and enabling them to continue, perhaps, a profitable mercantile house, with establish'd correspondence, till a son is grown up fit to undertake and go on with it, to the lasting advantage and enriching of the family.

About the year 1734 there arrived among us from Ireland a young Presbyterian preacher, named Hemphill, who delivered with a good voice, and apparently extempore, most excellent discourses, which drew together considerable numbers of different persuasions, who join'd in admiring them. Among the rest, I became one of his constant hearers, his sermons pleasing me, as they had little of the dogmatical kind, but inculcated strongly the practice of virtue, or what in the religious style are called good works. Those, however, of our congregation, who considered themselves as orthodox Presby-

terians, disapprov'd his doctrine, and were join'd by most of the old clergy, who arraign'd him of heterodoxy before the synod, in order to have him silenc'd. I became his zealous partisan, and contributed all I could to raise a party in his favor, and we combated for him a while with some hopes of success. There was much scribbling pro and con upon the occasion; and finding that, though an elegant preacher, he was but a poor writer, I lent him my pen and wrote for him two or three pamphlets, and one piece in the Gazette of April, 1735. Those pamphlets, as is generally the case with controversial writings, though eagerly read at the time, were soon out of vogue, and I question whether a single copy of them now exists.

During the contest an unlucky occurrence hurt his cause exceedingly. One of our adversaries having heard him preach a sermon that was much admired, thought he had somewhere read the sermon before, or at least a part of it. On search, he found that part quoted at length, in one of the British Reviews, from a discourse of Dr. Foster's. This detection gave many of our party disgust, who accordingly abandoned his cause, and occasion'd our more speedy discomfiture in the synod. I stuck by him, however, as I rather approv'd his giving us good sermons compos'd by others, than bad ones of his own manufacture, though the latter was the practice of our common teachers. He afterward acknowledg'd to me that none of those he preach'd were his own; adding, that his memory was such as enabled him to retain and repeat any sermon after one reading only. On our defeat, he left us in search elsewhere of better fortune, and I quitted the congregation, never joining it after, though I continu'd many years my subscription for the support of its ministers.

I had begun in 1733 to study languages; I soon made myself so much a master of the French as to be able to read the books with ease. I then undertook the Italian. An acquaintance, who was also learning it, us'd often to tempt me to play chess with him. Finding this took up too much of the time I had to spare for study, I at length refus'd to play any more, unless on this condition, that the victor in every game should have a right to impose a task, either in parts of the grammar to be got by heart, or in translations, etc., which tasks the

vanquish'd was to perform upon honor, before our next meeting. As we play'd pretty equally, we thus beat one another into that language. I afterwards with a little painstaking, acquir'd as much of the Spanish as to read their books also.

I have already mention'd that I had only one year's instruction in a Latin school, and that when very young, after which I neglected that language entirely. But, when I had attained an acquaintance with the French, Italian, and Spanish, I was surpris'd to find, on looking over a Latin Testament, that I understood so much more of that language than I had imagined, which encouraged me to apply myself again to the study of it, and I met with more success, as those preceding languages had greatly smooth'd my way.

From these circumstances, I have thought that there is some inconsistency in our common mode of teaching languages. We are told that it is proper to begin first with the Latin, and, having acquir'd that, it will be more easy to attain those modern languages which are deriv'd from it; and yet we do not begin with the Greek, in order more easily to acquire the Latin. It is true that, if you can clamber and get to the top of a staircase without using the steps, you will more easily gain them in descending; but certainly, if you begin with the lowest you will with more ease ascend to the top; and I would therefore offer it to the consideration of those who superintend the education of our youth, whether, since many of those who begin with the Latin quit the same after spending some years without having made any great proficiency, and what they have learn'd becomes almost useless, so that their time has been lost, it would not have been better to have begun with the French, proceeding to the Italian, etc.; for, though, after spending the same time, they should quit the study of languages and never arrive at the Latin, they would, however, have acquired another tongue or two, that, being in modern use, might be serviceable to them in common life.

After ten years' absence from Boston, and having become easy in my circumstances, I made a journey thither to visit my relations, which I could not sooner well afford. In returning, I call'd at Newport to see my brother, then settled there with his printing-house. Our former differences were

forgotten, and our meeting was very cordial and affectionate. He was fast declining in his health, and requested of me that, in case of his death, which he apprehended not far distant, I would take home his son, then but ten years of age, and bring him up to the printing business. This I accordingly perform'd, sending him a few years to school before I took him into the office. His mother carried on the business till he was grown up, when I assisted him with an assortment of new types, those of his father being in a manner worn out. Thus it was that I made my brother ample amends for the service I had depriv'd him of by leaving him so early.

In 1736 I lost one of my sons, a fine boy of four years old, by the small-pox, taken in the common way. I long regretted bitterly, and still regret that I had not given it to him by inoculation. This I mention for the sake of parents who omit that operation, on the supposition that they should never forgive themselves if a child died under it; my example showing that the regret may be the same either way, and that, therefore, the safer should be chosen.

Our club, the Junto, was found so useful, and afforded such satisfaction to the members, that several were desirous of introducing their friends, which could not well be done without exceeding what we had settled as a convenient number, viz., twelve. We had from the beginning made it a rule to keep our institution a secret, which was pretty well observ'd; the intention was to avoid applications of improper persons for admittance, some of whom, perhaps, we might find it difficult to refuse. I was one of those who were against any addition to our number, but, instead of it, made in writing a proposal, that every member separately should endeavor to form a subordinate club, with the same rules respecting queries, etc., and without informing them of the connection with the Junto. The advantages proposed were, the improvement of so many more young citizens by the use of our institutions; our better acquaintance with the general sentiments of the inhabitants on any occasion, as the Junto member might propose what queries we should desire, and was to report to the Junto what pass'd in his separate club; the promotion of our particular interests in business by more extensive recommendation, and the increase of our influence in public affairs,

and our power of doing good by spreading through the several clubs the sentiments of the Junto.

The project was approv'd, and every member undertook to form his club, but they did not all succeed. Five or six only were completed, which were called by different names, as the Vine, the Union, the Band, etc. They were useful to themselves, and afforded us a good deal of amusement, information, and instruction, besides answering, in some considerable degree, our views of influencing the public opinion on particular occasions, of which I shall give some instances in course of time as they happened.

My first promotion was my being chosen, in 1736, clerk of the General Assembly. The choice was made that year without opposition; but the year following, when I was again propos'd (the choice, like that of the members, being annual), a new member made a long speech against me, in order to favor some other candidate. I was, however, chosen, which was the more agreeable to me, as, besides the pay for the immediate service as clerk, the place gave me a better opportunity of keeping up an interest among the members, which secur'd to me the business of printing the votes, laws, paper money, and other occasional jobs for the public, that, on the whole, were very profitable.

I therefore did not like the opposition of this new member, who was a gentleman of fortune and education, with talents that were likely to give him, in time, great influence in the House, which, indeed, afterwards happened. I did not, however, aim at gaining his favor by paying any servile respect to him, but, after some time, took this other method. Having heard that he had in his library a certain very scarce and curious book, I wrote a note to him, expressing my desire of perusing that book, and requesting he would do me the favor of lending it to me for a few days. He sent it immediately, and I return'd it in about a week with another note, expressing strongly my sense of the favor. When we next met in the House, he spoke to me (which he had never done before), and with great civility; and he ever after manifested a readiness to serve me on all occasions, so that we became great friends, and our friendship continued to his death. This is another instance of the truth of an old maxim I had learned,

which says, *"He that has once done you a kindness will be more ready to do you another, than he whom you yourself have obliged."* And it shows how much more profitable it is prudently to remove, than to resent, return, and continue inimical proceedings.

In 1737, Colonel Spotswood, late governor of Virginia, and then postmaster-general, being dissatisfied with the conduct of his deputy at Philadelphia, respecting some negligence in rendering, and inexactitude of his accounts, took from him the commission and offered it to me. I accepted it readily, and found it of great advantage; for, though the salary was small, it facilitated the correspondence that improv'd my newspaper, increas'd the number demanded, as well as the advertisements to be inserted, so that it came to afford me a considerable income. My old competitor's newspaper declin'd proportionably, and I was satisfy'd without retaliating his refusal, while postmaster, to permit my papers being carried by the riders. Thus he suffer'd greatly from his neglect in due accounting; and I mention it as a lesson to those young men who may be employ'd in managing affairs for others, that they should always render accounts, and make remittances, with great clearness and punctuality. The character of observing such a conduct is the most powerful of all recommendations to new employments and increase of business.

I began now to turn my thoughts a little to public affairs, beginning, however, with small matters. The city watch was one of the first things that I conceiv'd to want regulation. It was managed by the constables of the respective wards in turn; the constable warned a number of housekeepers to attend him for the night. Those who chose never to attend, paid him six shillings a year to be excus'd, which was suppos'd to be for hiring substitutes, but was, in reality, much more than was necessary for that purpose, and made the constableship a place of profit; and the constable, for a little drink, often got such ragamuffins about him as a watch, that respectable housekeepers did not choose to mix with. Walking the rounds, too, was often neglected, and most of the nights spent in tippling. I thereupon wrote a paper to be read in Junto, representing these irregularities, but insisting more particularly on the inequality of this six-shilling tax of the con-

stables, respecting the circumstances of those who paid it, since a poor widow housekeeper, all whose property to be guarded by the watch did not perhaps exceed the value of fifty pounds, paid as much as the wealthiest merchant, who had thousands of pounds' worth of goods in his stores.

On the whole, I proposed as a more effectual watch, the hiring of proper men to serve constantly in that business; and as a more equitable way of supporting the charge, the levying a tax that should be proportion'd to the property. This idea, being approv'd by the Junto, was communicated to the other clubs, but as arising in each of them; and though the plan was not immediately carried into execution, yet, by preparing the minds of people for the change, it paved the way for the law obtained a few years after, when the members of our clubs were grown into more influence.

About this time I wrote a paper (first to be read in Junto, but it was afterward publish'd) on the different accidents and carelessnesses by which houses were set on fire, with cautions against them, and means proposed of avoiding them. This was much spoken of as a useful piece, and gave rise to a project, which soon followed it, of forming a company for the more ready extinguishing of fires, and mutual assistance in removing and securing of goods when in danger. Associates in this scheme were presently found, amounting to thirty. Our articles of agreement oblig'd every member to keep always in good order, and fit for use, a certain number of leather buckets, with strong bags and baskets (for packing and transporting of goods), which were to be brought to every fire; and we agreed to meet once a month and spend a social evening together, in discoursing and communicating such ideas as occurred to us upon the subject of fires, as might be useful in our conduct on such occasions.

The utility of this institution soon appeared, and many more desiring to be admitted than we thought convenient for one company, they were advised to form another, which was accordingly done; and this went on, one new company being formed after another, till they became so numerous as to include most of the inhabitants who were men of property; and now, at the time of my writing this, though upward of fifty years since its establishment, that which I first formed, called

the Union Fire Company, still subsists and flourishes, though the first members are all deceas'd but myself and one, who is older by a year than I am. The small fines that have been paid by members for absence at the monthly meetings have been apply'd to the purchase of fire-engines, ladders, fire-hooks, and other useful implements for each company, so that I question whether there is a city in the world better provided with the means of putting a stop to beginning conflagrations; and, in fact, since these institutions, the city has never lost by fire more than one or two houses at a time, and the flames have often been extinguished before the house in which they began has been half consumed.

In 1739 arrived among us from Ireland the Reverend Mr. Whitefield, who had made himself remarkable there as an itinerant preacher. He was at first permitted to preach in some of our churches; but the clergy, taking a dislike to him, soon refus'd him their pulpits, and he was oblig'd to preach in the fields. The multitudes of all sects and denominations that attended his sermons were enormous, and it was matter of speculation to me, who was one of the number, to observe the extraordinary influence of his oratory on his hearers, and how much they admir'd and respected him, notwithstanding his common abuse of them, by assuring them they were naturally *half beasts and half devils.* It was wonderful to see the change soon made in the manners of our inhabitants. From being thoughtless or indifferent about religion, it seem'd as if all the world were growing religious, so that one could not walk through the town in an evening without hearing psalms sung in different families of every street.

And it being found inconvenient to assemble in the open air, subject to its inclemencies, the building of a house to meet in was no sooner propos'd, and persons appointed to receive contributions, but sufficient sums were soon receiv'd to procure the ground and erect the building, which was one hundred feet long and seventy broad, about the size of Westminster Hall; and the work was carried on with such spirit as to be finished in a much shorter time than could have been expected. Both house and ground were vested in trustees, expressly for the use of any preacher of any religious persuasion who might desire to say something to the people at

Philadelphia; the design in building not being to accommodate any particular sect, but the inhabitants in general; so that even if the Mufti of Constantinople were to send a missionary to preach Mohammedanism to us, he would find a pulpit at his service.

Mr. Whitefield, in leaving us, went preaching all the way through the colonies to Georgia. The settlement of that province had lately been begun, but, instead of being made with hardy, industrious husbandmen, accustomed to labor, the only people fit for such an enterprise, it was with families of broken shop-keepers and other insolvent debtors, many of indolent and idle habits, taken out of the jails, who, being set down in the woods, unqualified for clearing land, and unable to endure the hardships of a new settlement, perished in numbers, leaving many helpless children unprovided for. The sight of their miserable situation inspir'd the benevolent heart of Mr. Whitefield with the idea of building an Orphan House there, in which they might be supported and educated. Returning northward, he preach'd up this charity, and made large collections, for his eloquence had a wonderful power over the hearts and purses of his hearers, of which I myself was an instance.

I did not disapprove of the design, but, as Georgia was then destitute of materials and workmen, and it was proposed to send them from Philadelphia at a great expense, I thought it would have been better to have built the house here, and brought the children to it. This I advis'd; but he was resolute in his first project, rejected my counsel, and I therefore refus'd to contribute. I happened soon after to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me. I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the coppers. Another stroke of his oratory made me asham'd of that, and determin'd me to give the silver; and he finish'd so admirably, that I empty'd my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all. At this sermon there was also one of our club, who, being of my sentiments respecting the building in Georgia, and suspecting a collection might be intended,

had, by precaution, emptied his pockets before he came from home. Towards the conclusion of the discourse, however, he felt a strong desire to give, and apply'd to a neighbor, who stood near him, to borrow some money for the purpose. The application was unfortunately [made] to perhaps the only man in the company who had the firmness not to be affected by the preacher. His answer was, *"At any other time, Friend Hopkinson, I would lend to thee freely; but not now, for thee seems to be out of thy right senses."*

Some of Mr. Whitefield's enemies affected to suppose that he would apply these collections to his own private emolument; but I, who was intimately acquainted with him (being employed in printing his Sermons and Journals, etc.), never had the least suspicion of his integrity, but am to this day decidedly of opinion that he was in all his conduct a perfectly *honest man;* and methinks my testimony in his favor ought to have the more weight, as we had no religious connection. He us'd, indeed, sometimes to pray for my conversion, but never had the satisfaction of believing that his prayers were heard. Ours was a mere civil friendship, sincere on both sides, and lasted to his death.

The following instance will show something of the terms on which we stood. Upon one of his arrivals from England at Boston, he wrote to me that he should come soon to Philadelphia, but knew not where he could lodge when there, as he understood his old friend and host, Mr. Benezet, was removed to Germantown. My answer was, "You know my house; if you can make shift with its scanty accommodations, you will be most heartily welcome." He reply'd, that if I made that kind offer for Christ's sake, I should not miss of a reward. And I returned, *"Don't let me be mistaken; it was not for Christ's sake, but for your sake."* One of our common acquaintance jocosely remark'd, that, knowing it to be the custom of the saints, when they received any favor, to shift the burden of the obligation from off their own shoulders, and place it in heaven, I had contriv'd to fix it on earth.

The last time I saw Mr. Whitefield was in London, when he consulted me about his Orphan House concern, and his purpose of appropriating it to the establishment of a college.

He had a loud and clear voice, and articulated his words

and sentences so perfectly, that he might be heard and understood at a great distance, especially as his auditories, however numerous, observ'd the most exact silence. He preach'd one evening from the top of the Court-house steps, which are in the middle of Market-street, and on the west side of Second-street, which crosses it at right angles. Both streets were fill'd with his hearers to a considerable distance. Being among the hindmost in Market-street, I had the curiosity to learn how far he could be heard, by retiring backwards down the street towards the river; and I found his voice distinct till I came near Front-street, when some noise in that street obscur'd it. Imagining then a semi-circle, of which my distance should be the radius, and that it were fill'd with auditors, to each of whom I allow'd two square feet, I computed that he might well be heard by more than thirty thousand. This reconcil'd me to the newspaper accounts of his having preach'd to twenty-five thousand people in the fields, and to the ancient histories of generals haranguing whole armies, of which I had sometimes doubted.

By hearing him often, I came to distinguish easily between sermons newly compos'd, and those which he had often preach'd in the course of his travels. His delivery of the latter was so improv'd by frequent repetitions that every accent, every emphasis, every modulation of voice, was so perfectly well turn'd and well plac'd, that, without being interested in the subject, one could not help being pleas'd with the discourse; a pleasure of much the same kind with that receiv'd from an excellent piece of music. This is an advantage itinerant preachers have over those who are stationary, as the latter cannot well improve their delivery of a sermon by so many rehearsals.

His writing and printing from time to time gave great advantage to his enemies; unguarded expressions, and even erroneous opinions, delivered in preaching, might have been afterwards explain'd or qualifi'd by supposing others that might have accompani'd them, or they might have been deny'd; but *littera scripta manet.* Critics attack'd his writings violently, and with so much appearance of reason as to diminish the number of his votaries and prevent their increase; so that I am of opinion if he had never written any-

thing, he would have left behind him a much more numerous and important sect, and his reputation might in that case have been still growing, even after his death, as there being nothing of his writing on which to found a censure and give him a lower character, his proselytes would be left at liberty to feign for him as great a variety of excellences as their enthusiastic admiration might wish him to have possessed.

My business was now continually augmenting, and my circumstances growing daily easier, my newspaper having become very profitable, as being for a time almost the only one in this and the neighboring provinces. I experienced, too, the truth of the observation, *"that after getting the first hundred pound, it is more easy to get the second,"* money itself being of a prolific nature.

The partnership at Carolina having succeeded, I was encourag'd to engage in others, and to promote several of my workmen, who had behaved well, by establishing them with printing-houses in different colonies, on the same terms with that in Carolina. Most of them did well, being enabled at the end of our term, six years, to purchase the types of me and go on working for themselves, by which means several families were raised. Partnerships often finish in quarrels; but I was happy in this, that mine were all carried on and ended amicably, owing, I think, a good deal to the precaution of having very explicitly settled, in our articles, everything to be done by or expected from each partner, so that there was nothing to dispute, which precaution I would therefore recommend to all who enter into partnerships; for, whatever esteem partners may have for, and confidence in each other at the time of the contract, little jealousies and disgusts may arise, with ideas of inequality in the care and burden of the business, etc., which are attended often with breach of friendship and of the connection, perhaps with lawsuits and other disagreeable consequences.

I had, on the whole, abundant reason to be satisfied with my being established in Pennsylvania. There were, however, two things that I regretted, there being no provision for defense, nor for a complete education of youth; no militia, nor any college. I therefore, in 1743, drew up a proposal for establishing an academy; and at that time, thinking the Reverend

Mr. Peters, who was out of employ, a fit person to superintend such an institution, I communicated the project to him; but he, having more profitable views in the service of the proprietaries, which succeeded, declin'd the undertaking; and, not knowing another at that time suitable for such a trust, I let the scheme lie a while dormant. I succeeded better the next year, 1744, in proposing and establishing a Philosophical Society. The paper I wrote for that purpose will be found among my writings, when collected.

With respect to defense, Spain having been several years at war against Great Britain, and being at length join'd by France, which brought us into great danger; and the labored and long-continued endeavor of our governor, Thomas, to prevail with our Quaker Assembly to pass a militia law, and make other provisions for the security of the province, having proved abortive, I determined to try what might be done by a voluntary association of the people. To promote this, I first wrote and published a pamphlet, entitled PLAIN TRUTH, in which I stated our defenseless situation in strong lights, with the necessity of union and discipline for our defense, and promis'd to propose in a few days an association, to be generally signed for that purpose. The pamphlet had a sudden and surprising effect. I was call'd upon for the instrument of association, and having settled the draft of it with a few friends, I appointed a meeting of the citizens in the large building before mentioned. The house was pretty full; I had prepared a number of printed copies, and provided pens and ink dispers'd all over the room. I harangued them a little on the subject, read the paper, and explained it, and then distributed the copies, which were eagerly signed, not the least objection being made.

When the company separated, and the papers were collected, we found above twelve hundred hands; and, other copies being dispersed in the country, the subscribers amounted at length to upward of ten thousand. These all furnished themselves as soon as they could with arms, formed themselves into companies and regiments, chose their own officers, and met every week to be instructed in the manual exercise, and other parts of military discipline. The women, by subscriptions among themselves, provided silk colors, which

they presented to the companies, painted with different devices and mottoes, which I supplied.

The officers of the companies composing the Philadelphia regiment, being met, chose me for their colonel; but, conceiving myself unfit, I declin'd that station, and recommended Mr. Lawrence, a fine person, and man of influence, who was accordingly appointed. I then propos'd a lottery to defray the expense of building a battery below the town, and furnishing it with cannon. It filled expeditiously, and the battery was soon erected, the merlons being fram'd of logs and fill'd with earth. We bought some old cannon from Boston, but, these not being sufficient, we wrote to England for more, soliciting, at the same time, our proprietaries for some assistance, though without much expectation of obtaining it.

Meanwhile, Colonel Lawrence, William Allen, Abram Taylor, Esqr., and myself were sent to New York by the associators, commission'd to borrow some cannon of Governor Clinton. He at first refus'd us peremptorily; but at dinner with his council, where there was great drinking of Madeira wine, as the custom of that place then was, he softened by degrees, and said he would lend us six. After a few more bumpers he advanc'd to ten; and at length he very good-naturedly conceded eighteen. They were fine cannon, eighteen-pounders, with their carriages, which we soon transported and mounted on our battery, where the associators kept a nightly guard while the war lasted, and among the rest I regularly took my turn of duty there as a common soldier.

My activity in these operations was agreeable to the governor and council; they took me into confidence, and I was consulted by them in every measure wherein their concurrence was thought useful to the association. Calling in the aid of religion, I propos'd to them the proclaiming a fast, to promote reformation, and implore the blessing of Heaven on our undertaking. They embrac'd the motion; but, as it was the first fast ever thought of in the province, the secretary had no precedent from which to draw the proclamation. My education in New England, where a fast is proclaimed every year, was here of some advantage: I drew it in the accustomed style, it was translated into German, printed in both languages, and divulg'd through the province. This gave the

clergy of the different sects an opportunity of influencing their congregations to join in the association, and it would probably have been general among all but Quakers if the peace had not soon interven'd.

It was thought by some of my friends that, by my activity in these affairs, I should offend that sect, and thereby lose my interest in the Assembly of the province, where they formed a great majority. A young gentleman who had likewise some friends in the House, and wished to succeed me as their clerk, acquainted me that it was decided to displace me at the next election; and he, therefore, in good will, advis'd me to resign, as more consistent with my honor than being turn'd out. My answer to him was, that I had read or heard of some public man who made it a rule never to ask for an office, and never to refuse one when offer'd to him. "I approve," says I, "of his rule, and will practice it with a small addition; I shall never *ask,* never *refuse,* nor ever *resign* an office. If they will have my office of clerk to dispose of to another, they shall take it from me. I will not, by giving it up, lose my right of some time or other making reprisals on my adversaries." I heard, however, no more of this; I was chosen again unanimously as usual at the next election. Possibly, as they dislik'd my late intimacy with the members of council, who had join'd the governors in all the disputes about military preparations, with which the House had long been harass'd, they might have been pleas'd if I would voluntarily have left them; but they did not care to displace me on account merely of my zeal for the association, and they could not well give another reason.

Indeed I had some cause to believe that the defense of the country was not disagreeable to any of them, provided they were not requir'd to assist in it. And I found that a much greater number of them than I could have imagined, though against offensive war, were clearly for the defensive. Many pamphlets *pro and con* were publish'd on the subject, and some by good Quakers, in favor of defense, which I believe convinc'd most of their younger people.

A transaction in our fire company gave me some insight into their prevailing sentiments. It had been propos'd that we should encourage the scheme for building a battery by laying

out the present stock, then about sixty pounds, in tickets of the lottery. By our rules, no money could be dispos'd of till the next meeting after the proposal. The company consisted of thirty members, of which twenty-two were Quakers, and eight only of other persuasions. We eight punctually attended the meeting; but, though we thought that some of the Quakers would join us, we were by no means sure of a majority. Only one Quaker, Mr. James Morris, appear'd to oppose the measure. He expressed much sorrow that it had ever been propos'd, as he said *Friends* were all against it, and it would create such discord as might break up the company. We told him that we saw no reason for that; we were the minority, and if *Friends* were against the measure, and outvoted us, we must and should, agreeably to the usage of all societies, submit. When the hour for business arriv'd it was mov'd to put the vote; he allow'd we might then do it by the rules, but, as he could assure us that a number of members intended to be present for the purpose of opposing it, it would be but candid to allow a little time for their appearing.

While we were disputing this, a waiter came to tell me two gentlemen below desir'd to speak with me. I went down, and found they were two of our Quaker members. They told me there were eight of them assembled at a tavern just by; that they were determin'd to come and vote with us if there should be occasion, which they hop'd would not be the case, and desir'd we would not call for their assistance if we could do without it, as their voting for such a measure might embroil them with their elders and friends. Being thus secure of a majority, I went up, and after a little seeming hesitation, agreed to a delay of another hour. This Mr. Morris allow'd to be extremely fair. Not one of his opposing friends appear'd, at which he express'd great surprise; and, at the expiration of the hour, we carry'd the resolution eight to one; and as, of the twenty-two Quakers, eight were ready to vote with us, and thirteen, by their absence, manifested that they were not inclin'd to oppose the measure, I afterward estimated the proportion of Quakers sincerely against defense as one to twenty-one only; for these were all regular members of that society, and in good reputation among them, and had due notice of what was propos'd at that meeting.

The honorable and learned Mr. Logan, who had always been of that sect, was one who wrote an address to them, declaring his approbation of defensive war, and supporting his opinion by many strong arguments. He put into my hands sixty pounds to be laid out in lottery tickets for the battery, with directions to apply what prizes might be drawn wholly to that service. He told me the following anecdote of his old master, William Penn, respecting defense. He came over from England, when a young man, with that proprietary, and as his secretary. It was war-time, and their ship was chas'd by an armed vessel, suppos'd to be an enemy. Their captain prepar'd for defense; but told William Penn, and his company of Quakers, that he did not expect their assistance, and they might retire into the cabin, which they did, except James Logan, who chose to stay upon deck, and was quarter'd to a gun. The suppos'd enemy prov'd a friend, so there was no fighting; but when the secretary went down to communicate the intelligence, William Penn rebuk'd him severely for staying upon deck, and undertaking to assist in defending the vessel, contrary to the principles of *Friends,* especially as it had not been required by the captain. This reproof, being before all the company, piqu'd the secretary, who answer'd, *"I being thy servant, why did thee not order me to come down? But thee was willing enough that I should stay and help to fight the ship when thee thought there was danger."*

My being many years in the Assembly, the majority of which were constantly Quakers, gave me frequent opportunities of seeing the embarrassment given them by their principle against war, whenever application was made to them, by order of the crown, to grant aids for military purposes. They were unwilling to offend government, on the one hand, by a direct refusal; and their friends, the body of the Quakers, on the other, by a compliance contrary to their principles; hence a variety of evasions to avoid complying, and modes of disguising the compliance when it became unavoidable. The common mode at last was, to grant money under the phrase of its being *"for the king's use,"* and never to inquire how it was applied.

But, if the demand was not directly from the crown, that phrase was found not so proper, and some other was to be invented. As, when powder was wanting (I think it was for

the garrison at Louisburg), and the government of New England solicited a grant of some from Pennsylvania, which was much urg'd on the House by Governor Thomas, they could not grant money to buy powder, because that was an ingredient of war; but they voted an aid to New England of three thousand pounds, to be put into the hands of the governor, and appropriated it for the purchasing of bread, flour, wheat, or *other grain.* Some of the council, desirous of giving the House still further embarrassment, advis'd the governor not to accept provision, as not being the thing he had demanded; but he reply'd, "I shall take the money, for I understand very well their meaning; other grain is gunpowder," which he accordingly bought, and they never objected to it.[1]

It was in allusion to this fact that, when in our fire company we feared the success of our proposal in favor of the lottery, and I had said to my friend Mr. Syng, one of our members, "If we fail, let us move the purchase of a fire-engine with the money; the Quakers can have no objection to that; and then, if you nominate me and I you as a committee for that purpose, we will buy a great gun, which is certainly a *fire-engine.*" "I see," says he, "you have improv'd by being so long in the Assembly; your equivocal project would be just a match for their wheat or *other grain.*"

These embarrassments that the Quakers suffer'd from having establish'd and published it as one of their principles that no kind of war was lawful, and which, being once published, they could not afterwards, however they might change their minds, easily get rid of, reminds me of what I think a more prudent conduct in another sect among us, that of the Dunkers. I was acquainted with one of its founders, Michael Welfare, soon after it appear'd. He complain'd to me that they were grievously calumniated by the zealots of other persuasions, and charg'd with abominable principles and practices, to which they were utter strangers. I told him this had always been the case with new sects, and that, to put a stop to such abuse, I imagin'd it might be well to publish the articles of their belief, and the rules of their discipline. He said that it had been propos'd among them, but not agreed to, for this reason: "When we were first drawn together as a

[1] See the votes.—[*Marginal note.*]

society," says he, "it had pleased God to enlighten our minds so far as to see that some doctrines, which we once esteemed truths, were errors; and that others, which we had esteemed errors, were real truths. From time to time He has been pleased to afford us farther light, and our principles have been improving, and our errors diminishing. Now we are not sure that we are arrived at the end of this progression, and at the perfection of spiritual or theological knowledge; and we fear that, if we should once print our confession of faith, we should feel ourselves as if bound and confin'd by it, and perhaps be unwilling to receive further improvement, and our successors still more so, as conceiving what we their elders and founders had done, to be something sacred, never to be departed from."

This modesty in a sect is perhaps a singular instance in the history of mankind, every other sect supposing itself in possession of all truth, and that those who differ are so far in the wrong; like a man traveling in foggy weather, those at some distance before him on the road he sees wrapped up in the fog, as well as those behind him, and also the people in the fields on each side, but near him all appears clear, though in truth he is as much in the fog as any of them. To avoid this kind of embarrassment, the Quakers have of late years been gradually declining the public service in the Assembly and in the magistracy, choosing rather to quit their power than their principle.

In order of time, I should have mentioned before, that having, in 1742, invented an open stove for the better warming of rooms, and at the same time saving fuel, as the fresh air admitted was warmed in entering, I made a present of the model to Mr. Robert Grace, one of my early friends, who, having an iron-furnace, found the casting of the plates for these stoves a profitable thing, as they were growing in demand. To promote that demand, I wrote and published a pamphlet, entitled *"An Account of the new-invented Pennsylvania Fireplaces; wherein their Construction and Manner of Operation is particularly explained; their Advantages above every other Method of warming Rooms demonstrated; and all Objections that have been raised against the Use of them answered and obviated,"* etc. This pamphlet had a good

effect. Gov'r Thomas was so pleas'd with the construction of this stove, as described in it, that he offered to give me a patent for the sole vending of them for a term of years; but I declin'd it from a principle which has ever weighed with me on such occasions, viz., *That, as we enjoy great advantages from the inventions of others, we should be glad of an opportunity to serve others by any invention of ours; and this we should do freely and generously.*

An ironmonger in London however, assuming a good deal of my pamphlet, and working it up into his own, and making some small changes in the machine, which rather hurt its operation, got a patent for it there, and made, as I was told, a little fortune by it. And this is not the only instance of patents taken out for my inventions by others, though not always with the same success, which I never contested, as having no desire of profiting by patents myself, and hating disputes. The use of these fireplaces in very many houses, both of this and the neighboring colonies, has been, and is, a great saving of wood to the inhabitants.

Peace being concluded, and the association business therefore at an end, I turn'd my thoughts again to the affair of establishing an academy. The first step I took was to associate in the design a number of active friends, of whom the Junto furnished a good part; the next was to write and publish a pamphlet, entitled *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania.* This I distributed among the principal inhabitants gratis; and as soon as I could suppose their minds a little prepared by the perusal of it, I set on foot a subscription for opening and supporting an academy; it was to be paid in quotas yearly for five years; by so dividing it, I judg'd the subscription might be larger, and I believed it was so, amounting to no less, if I remember right, than five thousand pounds.

In the introduction to these proposals, I stated their publication, not as an act of mine, but of some *public-spirited gentlemen,* avoiding as much as I could, according to my usual rule, the presenting myself to the public as the author of any scheme for their benefit.

The subscribers, to carry the project into immediate execution, chose out of their number twenty-four trustees, and

appointed Mr. Francis, then attorney-general, and myself to draw up constitutions for the government of the academy; which being done and signed, a house was hired, masters engag'd, and the schools opened, I think, in the same year, 1749.

The scholars increasing fast, the house was soon found too small, and we were looking out for a piece of ground, properly situated, with intention to build, when Providence threw into our way a large house ready built, which, with a few alterations, might well serve our purpose. This was the building before mentioned, erected by the hearers of Mr. Whitefield, and was obtained for us in the following manner.

It is to be noted that the contributions to this building being made by people of different sects, care was taken in the nomination of trustees, in whom the building and ground was to be vested, that a predominancy should not be given to any sect, lest in time that predominancy might be a means of appropriating the whole to the use of such sect, contrary to the original intention. It was therefore that one of each sect was appointed, viz., one Church-of-England man, one Presbyterian, one Baptist, one Moravian, etc., those, in case of vacancy by death, were to fill it by election from among the contributors. The Moravian happen'd not to please his colleagues, and on his death they resolved to have no other of that sect. The difficulty then was, how to avoid having two of some other sect, by means of the new choice.

Several persons were named, and for that reason not agreed to. At length one mention'd me, with the observation that I was merely an honest man, and of no sect at all, which prevail'd with them to choose me. The enthusiasm which existed when the house was built had long since abated, and its trustees had not been able to procure fresh contributions for paying the ground-rent, and discharging some other debts the building had occasion'd, which embarrass'd them greatly. Being now a member of both sets of trustees, that for the building and that for the Academy, I had a good opportunity of negotiating with both, and brought them finally to an agreement, by which the trustees for the building were to cede it to those of the academy, the latter undertaking to discharge the debt, to keep forever open in the building a

large hall for occasional preachers, according to the original intention, and maintain a free-school for the instruction of poor children. Writings were accordingly drawn, and on paying the debts the trustees of the academy were put in possession of the premises; and by dividing the great and lofty hall into stories, and different rooms above and below for the several schools, and purchasing some additional ground, the whole was soon made fit for our purpose, and the scholars remov'd into the building. The care and trouble of agreeing with the workmen, purchasing materials, and superintending the work, fell upon me; and I went through it the more cheerfully, as it did not then interfere with my private business, having the year before taken a very able, industrious, and honest partner, Mr. David Hall, with whose character I was well acquainted, as he had work'd for me four years. He took off my hands all care of the printing-office, paying me punctually my share of the profits. The partnership continued eighteen years, successfully for us both.

The trustees of the academy, after a while, were incorporated by a charter from the governor; their funds were increas'd by contributions in Britain and grants of land from the proprietaries, to which the Assembly has since made considerable addition; and thus was established the present University of Philadelphia. I have been continued one of its trustees from the beginning, now near forty years, and have had the very great pleasure of seeing a number of the youth who have receiv'd their education in it, distinguish'd by their improv'd abilities, serviceable in public stations, and ornaments to their country.

When I disengaged myself, as above mentioned, from private business, I flatter'd myself that, by the sufficient though moderate fortune I had acquir'd, I had secured leisure during the rest of my life for philosophical studies and amusements. I purchased all Dr. Spence's apparatus, who had come from England to lecture here, and I proceeded in my electrical experiments with great alacrity; but the public, now considering me as a man of leisure, laid hold of me for their purposes, every part of our civil government, and almost at the same time, imposing some duty upon me. The governor put me into the commission of the peace; the cor-

poration of the city chose me of the common council, and soon after an alderman; and the citizens at large chose me a burgess to represent them in Assembly. This latter station was the more agreeable to me, as I was at length tired with sitting there to hear debates, in which, as clerk, I could take no part, and which were often so unentertaining that I was induc'd to amuse myself with making magic squares or circles, or anything to avoid weariness; and I conceiv'd my becoming a member would enlarge my power of doing good. I would not, however, insinuate that my ambition was not flatter'd by all these promotions; it certainly was; for, considering my low beginning, they were great things to me; and they were still more pleasing, as being so many spontaneous testimonies of the public good opinion, and by me entirely unsolicited.

The office of justice of the peace I try'd a little, by attending a few courts, and sitting on the bench to hear causes; but finding that more knowledge of the common law than I possess'd was necessary to act in that station with credit, I gradually withdrew from it, excusing myself by my being oblig'd to attend the higher duties of a legislator in the Assembly. My election to this trust was repeated every year for ten years, without my ever asking any elector for his vote, or signifying, either directly or indirectly, any desire of being chosen. On taking my seat in the House, my son was appointed their clerk.

The year following, a treaty being to be held with the Indians at Carlisle, the governor sent a message to the House, proposing that they should nominate some of their members, to be join'd with some members of council, as commissioners for that purpose.[1] The House named the speaker (Mr. Norris) and myself; and, being commission'd, we went to Carlisle, and met the Indians accordingly.

As those people are extremely apt to get drunk, and, when so, are very quarrelsome and disorderly, we strictly forbad the selling any liquor to them; and when they complain'd of this restriction, we told them that if they would continue sober during the treaty, we would give them plenty of rum when business was over. They promis'd this, and they kept their promise, because they could get no liquor, and the treaty

[1] See the votes to have this more correctly.—[*Marginal note.*]

was conducted very orderly, and concluded to mutual satisfaction. They then claim'd and receiv'd the rum; this was in the afternoon: they were near one hundred men, women, and children, and were lodg'd in temporary cabins, built in the form of a square, just without the town. In the evening, hearing a great noise among them, the commissioners walk'd out to see what was the matter. We found they had made a great bonfire in the middle of the square; they were all drunk, men and women, quarreling and fighting. Their dark-color'd bodies, half naked, seen only by the gloomy light of the bonfire, running after and beating one another with firebrands, accompanied by their horrid yellings, form'd a scene the most resembling our ideas of hell that could well be imagin'd; there was no appeasing the tumult, and we retired to our lodging. At midnight a number of them came thundering at our door, demanding more rum, of which we took no notice.

The next day, sensible they had misbehav'd in giving us that disturbance, they sent three of their old counselors to make their apology. The orator acknowledg'd the fault, but laid it upon the rum; and then endeavored to excuse the rum by saying, *"The Great Spirit, who made all things, made every thing for some use, and whatever use he design'd any thing for, that use it should always be put to. Now, when he made rum, he said, 'Let this be for the Indians to get drunk with,' and it must be so."* And, indeed, if it be the design of Providence to extirpate these savages in order to make room for cultivators of the earth, it seems not improbable that rum may be the appointed means. It has already annihilated all the tribes who formerly inhabited the sea-coast.

In 1751, Dr. Thomas Bond, a particular friend of mine, conceived the idea of establishing a hospital in Philadelphia (a very beneficent design, which has been ascrib'd to me, but was originally his), for the reception and cure of poor sick persons, whether inhabitants of the province or strangers. He was zealous and active in endeavoring to procure subscriptions for it, but the proposal being a novelty in America, and at first not well understood, he met with but small success.

At length he came to me with the compliment that he found there was no such thing as carrying a public-spirited project through without my being concern'd in it. "For," says he, "I am often ask'd by those to whom I propose subscribing, Have you consulted Franklin upon this business? And what does he think of it? And when I tell them that I have not (supposing it rather out of your line), they do not subscribe, but say they will consider of it." I inquired into the nature and probable utility of his scheme, and receiving from him a very satisfactory explanation, I not only subscrib'd to it myself, but engag'd heartily in the design of procuring subscriptions from others. Previously, however, to the solicitation, I endeavored to prepare the minds of the people by writing on the subject in the newspapers, which was my usual custom in such cases, but which he had omitted.

The subscriptions afterwards were more free and generous; but, beginning to flag, I saw they would be insufficient without some assistance from the Assembly, and therefore propos'd to petition for it, which was done. The country members did not at first relish the project; they objected that it could only be serviceable to the city, and therefore the citizens alone should be at the expense of it; and they doubted whether the citizens themselves generally approv'd of it. My allegation on the contrary, that it met with such approbation as to leave no doubt of our being able to raise two thousand pounds by voluntary donations, they considered as a most extravagant supposition, and utterly impossible.

On this I form'd my plan; and, asking leave to bring in a bill for incorporating the contributors according to the prayer of their petition, and granting them a blank sum of money, which leave was obtained chiefly on the consideration that the House could throw the bill out if they did not like it, I drew it so as to make the important clause a conditional one, viz., "And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that when the said contributors shall have met and chosen their managers and treasurer, *and shall have raised by their contributions a capital stock of* ——— *value* (the yearly interest of which is to be applied to the accommodating of the sick poor in the said hospital, free of charge for diet, at-

tendance, advice, and medicines), *and shall make the same appear to the satisfaction of the speaker of the Assembly for the time being,* that *then* it shall and may be lawful for the said speaker, and he is hereby required, to sign an order on the provincial treasurer for the payment of two thousand pounds, in two yearly payments, to the treasurer of the said hospital, to be applied to the founding, building, and finishing of the same."

This condition carried the bill through; for the members, who had oppos'd the grant, and now conceiv'd they might have the credit of being charitable without the expense, agreed to its passage; and then, in soliciting subscriptions among the people, we urg'd the conditional promise of the law as an additional motive to give, since every man's donation would be doubled; thus the clause work'd both ways. The subscriptions accordingly soon exceeded the requisite sum, and we claim'd and receiv'd the public gift, which enabled us to carry the design into execution. A convenient and handsome building was soon erected; the institution has by constant experience been found useful, and flourishes to this day; and I do not remember any of my political maneuvers, the success of which gave me at the time more pleasure, or wherein, after thinking of it, I more easily excus'd myself for having made some use of cunning.

It was about this time that another projector, the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, came to me with a request that I would assist him in procuring a subscription for erecting a new meeting-house. It was to be for the use of a congregation he had gathered among the Presbyterians, who were originally disciples of Mr. Whitefield. Unwilling to make myself disagreeable to my fellow-citizens by too frequently soliciting their contributions, I absolutely refus'd. He then desired I would furnish him with a list of the names of persons I knew by experience to be generous and public-spirited. I thought it would be unbecoming in me, after their kind compliance with my solicitations, to mark them out to be worried by other beggars, and therefore refus'd also to give such a list. He then desir'd I would at least give him my advice. "That I will readily do," said I; "and, in the first place, I advise you to apply to all those whom you know will give

something; next, to those whom you are uncertain whether they will give any thing or not, and show them the list of those who have given; and, lastly, do not neglect those who you are sure will give nothing, for in some of them you may be mistaken." He laugh'd and thank'd me, and said he would take my advice. He did so, for he ask'd of *everybody*, and he obtain'd a much larger sum than he expected, with which he erected the capacious and very elegant meeting-house that stands in Arch-street.

Our city, tho' laid out with a beautiful regularity, the streets large, straight, and crossing each other at right angles, had the disgrace of suffering those streets to remain long unpav'd, and in wet weather the wheels of heavy carriages plow'd them into a quagmire, so that it was difficult to cross them; and in dry weather the dust was offensive. I had liv'd near what was call'd the Jersey Market, and saw with pain the inhabitants wading in mud while purchasing their provisions. A strip of ground down the middle of that market was at length pav'd with brick, so that, being once in the market, they had firm footing, but were often over shoes in dirt to get there. By talking and writing on the subject, I was at length instrumental in getting the street pav'd with stone between the market and the brick'd footpavement, that was on each side next the houses. This, for some time, gave an easy access to the market dry-shod; but, the rest of the street not being pav'd, whenever a carriage came out of the mud upon this pavement, it shook off and left its dirt upon it, and it was soon cover'd with mire, which was not remov'd, the city as yet having no scavengers.

After some inquiry, I found a poor, industrious man, who was willing to undertake keeping the pavement clean, by sweeping it twice a week, carrying off the dirt from before all the neighbors' doors, for the sum of sixpence per month, to be paid by each house. I then wrote and printed a paper setting forth the advantages to the neighborhood that might be obtain'd by this small expense; the greater ease in keeping our houses clean, so much dirt not being brought in by people's feet; the benefit to the shops by more custom, etc., etc., as buyers could more easily get at them; and by not having, in windy weather, the dust blown in upon their goods, etc.,

etc. I sent one of these papers to each house, and in a day or two went round to see who would subscribe an agreement to pay these sixpences; it was unanimously sign'd, and for a time well executed. All the inhabitants of the city were delighted with the cleanliness of the pavement that surrounded the market, it being a convenience to all, and this rais'd a general desire to have all the streets paved, and made the people more willing to submit to a tax for that purpose.

After some time I drew a bill for paving the city, and brought it into the Assembly. It was just before I went to England, in 1757, and did not pass till I was gone,[1] and then with an alteration in the mode of assessment, which I thought not for the better, but with an additional provision for lighting as well as paving the streets, which was a great improvement. It was by a private person, the late Mr. John Clifton, his giving a sample of the utility of lamps, by placing one at his door, that the people were first impress'd with the idea of enlighting all the city. The honor of this public benefit has also been ascrib'd to me, but it belongs truly to that gentleman. I did but follow his example, and have only some merit to claim respecting the form of our lamps, as differing from the globe lamps we were at first supply'd with from London. Those we found inconvenient in these respects: they admitted no air below; the smoke, therefore, did not readily go out above, but circulated in the globe, lodg'd on its inside, and soon obstructed the light they were intended to afford; giving, besides, the daily trouble of wiping them clean; and an accidental stroke on one of them would demolish it, and render it totally useless. I therefore suggested the composing them of four flat panes, with a long funnel above to draw up the smoke, and crevices admitting air below, to facilitate the ascent of the smoke; by this means they were kept clean, and did not grow dark in a few hours, as the London lamps do, but continu'd bright till morning, and an accidental stroke would generally break but a single pane, easily repair'd.

I have sometimes wonder'd that the Londoners did not, from the effect holes in the bottom of the globe lamps us'd at Vauxhall have in keeping them clean, learn to have such

[1] See votes.

holes in their street lamps. But, these holes being made for another purpose, viz., to communicate flame more suddenly to the wick by a little flax hanging down thro' them, the other use, of letting in air, seems not to have been thought of; and therefore, after the lamps have been lit a few hours, the streets of London are very poorly illuminated.

The mention of these improvements puts me in mind of one I propos'd, when in London, to Dr. Fothergill, who was among the best men I have known, and a great promoter of useful projects. I had observ'd that the streets, when dry, were never swept, and the light dust carried away; but it was suffer'd to accumulate till wet weather reduc'd it to mud, and then, after lying some days so deep on the pavement that there was no crossing but in paths kept clean by poor people with brooms, it was with great labor rak'd together and thrown up into carts open above, the sides of which suffer'd some of the slush at every jolt on the pavement to shake out and fall, sometimes to the annoyance of foot-passengers. The reason given for not sweeping the dusty streets was, that the dust would fly into the windows of shops and houses.

An accidental occurrence had instructed me how much sweeping might be done in a little time. I found at my door in Craven-street, one morning, a poor woman sweeping my pavement with a birch broom; she appeared very pale and feeble, as just come out of a fit of sickness. I ask'd who employ'd her to sweep there; she said, "Nobody, but I am very poor and in distress, and I sweeps before gentlefolkses' doors, and hopes they will give me something." I bid her sweep the whole street clean, and I would give her a shilling; this was at nine o'clock; at 12 she came for the shilling. From the slowness I saw at first in her working, I could scarce believe that the work was done so soon, and sent my servant to examine it, who reported that the whole street was swept perfectly clean, and all the dust plac'd in the gutter, which was in the middle; and the next rain wash'd it quite away, so that the pavement and even the kennel were perfectly clean.

I then judg'd that, if that feeble woman could sweep such a street in three hours, a strong, active man might have done it in half the time. And here let me remark the

convenience of having but one gutter in such a narrow street, running down its middle, instead of two, one on each side, near the footway; for where all the rain that falls on a street runs from the sides and meets in the middle, it forms there a current strong enough to wash away all the mud it meets with; but when divided into two channels, it is often too weak to cleanse either, and only makes the mud it finds more fluid, so that the wheels of carriages and feet of horses throw and dash it upon the foot-pavement, which is thereby rendered foul and slippery, and sometimes splash it upon those who are walking. My proposal, communicated to the good doctor, was as follows:

"For the more effectual cleaning and keeping clean the streets of London and Westminster, it is proposed that the several watchmen be contracted with to have the dust swept up in dry seasons, and the mud rak'd up at other times, each in the several streets and lanes of his round; that they be furnish'd with brooms and other proper instruments for these purposes, to be kept at their respective stands, ready to furnish the poor people they may employ in the service.

"That in the dry summer months the dust be all swept up into heaps at proper distances, before the shops and windows of houses are usually opened, when the scavengers, with close-covered carts, shall also carry it all away.

"That the mud, when rak'd up, be not left in heaps to be spread abroad again by the wheels of carriages and trampling of horses, but that the scavengers be provided with bodies of carts, not plac'd high upon wheels, but low upon sliders, with lattice bottoms, which, being cover'd with straw, will retain the mud thrown into them, and permit the water to drain from it, whereby it will become much lighter, water making the greatest part of its weight; these bodies of carts to be plac'd at convenient distances, and the mud brought to them in wheel-barrows; they remaining where plac'd till the mud is drain'd, and then horses brought to draw them away."

I have since had doubts of the practicability of the latter part of this proposal, on account of the narrowness of some streets, and the difficulty of placing the draining-sleds so as not to encumber too much the passage; but I am still of

opinion that the former, requiring the dust to be swept up and carry'd away before the shops are open, is very practicable in the summer, when the days are long; for, in walking thro' the Strand and Fleet-street one morning at seven o'clock, I observ'd there was not one shop open, tho' it had been daylight and the sun up above three hours; the inhabitants of London choosing voluntarily to live much by candle-light, and sleep by sunshine, and yet often complain, a little absurdly, of the duty on candles, and the high price of tallow.

Some may think these trifling matters not worth minding or relating; but when they consider that tho' dust blown into the eyes of a single person, or into a single shop on a windy day, is but of small importance, yet the great number of the instances in a populous city, and its frequent repetitions give it weight and consequence, perhaps they will not censure very severely those who bestow some attention to affairs of this seemingly low nature. Human felicity is produc'd not so much by great pieces of good fortune that seldom happen, as by little advantages that occur every day. Thus, if you teach a poor young man to shave himself, and keep his razor in order, you may contribute more to the happiness of his life than in giving him a thousand guineas. The money may be soon spent, the regret only remaining of having foolishly consumed it; but in the other case, he escapes the frequent vexation of waiting for barbers, and of their sometimes dirty fingers, offensive breaths, and dull razors; he shaves when most convenient to him, and enjoys daily the pleasure of its being done with a good instrument. With these sentiments I have hazarded the few preceding pages, hoping they may afford hints which some time or other may be useful to a city I love, having lived many years in it very happily, and perhaps to some of our towns in America.

Having been for some time employed by the postmaster-general of America as his comptroller in regulating several offices, and bringing the officers to account, I was, upon his death in 1753, appointed, jointly with Mr. William Hunter, to succeed him, by a commission from the postmaster-general in England. The American office never had hitherto paid any thing to that of Britain. We were to have six hundred

pounds a year between us, if we could make that sum out of the profits of the office. To do this, a variety of improvements was necessary; some of these were inevitably at first expensive, so that in the first four years the office became above nine hundred pounds in debt to us. But it soon after began to repay us; and before I was displac'd by a freak of the ministers, of which I shall speak hereafter, we had brought it to yield *three times* as much clear revenue to the crown as the postoffice of Ireland. Since that imprudent transaction, they have receiv'd from it—not one farthing!

The business of the postoffice occasion'd my taking a journey this year to New England, where the College of Cambridge, of their own motion, presented me with the degree of Master of Arts. Yale College, in Connecticut, had before made me a similar compliment. Thus, without studying in any college, I came to partake of their honors. They were conferr'd in consideration of my improvements and discoveries in the electric branch of natural philosophy.

In 1754, war with France being again apprehended, a congress of commissioners from the different colonies was, by order of the Lord of Trade, to be assembled at Albany, there to confer with the chiefs of the Six Nations concerning the means of defending both their country and ours. Governor Hamilton, having receiv'd this order, acquainted the House with it, requesting they would furnish proper presents for the Indians, to be given on this occasion; and naming the speaker (Mr. Norris) and myself to join Mr. Thomas Penn and Mr. Secretary Peters as commissioners to act for Pennsylvania. The House approv'd the nomination, and provided the goods for the present, and tho' they did not much like treating out of the provinces; and we met the other commissioners at Albany about the middle of June.

In our way thither, I projected and drew a plan for the union of all the colonies under one government, so far as might be necessary for defense, and other important general purposes. As we pass'd thro' New York, I had there shown my project to Mr. James Alexander and Mr. Kennedy, two gentlemen of great knowledge in public affairs, and, being fortified by their approbation, I ventur'd to lay it before the Congress. It then appeared that several of the commis-

sioners had form'd plans of the same kind. A previous question was first taken, whether a union should be established, which pass'd in the affirmative unanimously. A committee was then appointed, one member from each colony, to consider the several plans and report. Mine happen'd to be preferr'd, and, with a few amendments, was accordingly reported.

By this plan the general government was to be administered by a president-general, appointed and supported by the crown, and a grand council was to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies, met in their respective assemblies. The debates upon it in Congress went on daily, hand in hand with the Indian business. Many objections and difficulties were started, but at length they were all overcome, and the plan was unanimously agreed to, and copies ordered to be transmitted to the Board of Trade and to the assemblies of the several provinces. Its fate was singular: the assemblies did not adopt it, as they all thought there was too much *prerogative* in it, and in England it was judg'd to have too much of the *democratic*. The Board of Trade therefore did not approve of it, nor recommend it for the approbation of his majesty; but another scheme was form'd, supposed to answer the same purpose better, whereby the governors of the provinces, with some members of their respective councils, were to meet and order the raising of troops, building of forts, etc., and to draw on the treasury of Great Britain for the expense, which was afterwards to be refunded by an act of Parliament laying a tax on America. My plan, with my reasons in support of it, is to be found among my political papers that are printed.

Being the winter following in Boston, I had much conversation with Governor Shirley upon both the plans. Part of what passed between us on the occasion may also be seen among those papers. The different and contrary reasons of dislike to my plan make me suspect that it was really the true medium; and I am still of opinion it would have been happy for both sides the water if it had been adopted. The colonies, so united, would have been sufficiently strong to have defended themselves; there would then have been no need of troops from England; of course, the subsequent pretense for

taxing America, and the bloody contest it occasioned, would have been avoided. But such mistakes are not new; history is full of the errors of states and princes.

"Look round the habitable world, how few
Know their own good, or, knowing it, pursue!"

Those who govern, having much business on their hands, do not generally like to take the trouble of considering and carrying into execution new projects. The best public measures are therefore seldom *adopted from previous wisdom, but forc'd by the occasion.*

The Governor of Pennsylvania, in sending it down to the Assembly, express'd his approbation of the plan, "as appearing to him to be drawn up with great clearness and strength of judgment, and therefore recommended it as well worthy of their closest and most serious attention." The House, however, by the management of a certain member, took it up when I happen'd to be absent, which I thought not very fair, and reprobated it without paying any attention to it at all, to my no small mortification.

In my journey to Boston this year, I met at New York with our new governor, Mr. Morris, just arriv'd there from England, with whom I had been before intimately acquainted. He brought a commission to supersede Mr. Hamilton, who, tir'd with the disputes his proprietary instructions subjected him to, had resign'd. Mr. Morris ask'd me if I thought he must expect as uncomfortable an administration. I said, "No; you may, on the contrary, have a very comfortable one, if you will only take care not to enter into any dispute with the Assembly." "My dear friend," says he, pleasantly, "how can you advise my avoiding disputes? You know I love disputing; it is one of my greatest pleasures; however, to show the regard I have for your counsel, I promise you I will, if possible, avoid them." He had some reason for loving to dispute, being eloquent, an acute sophister, and, therefore, generally successful in argumentative conversation. He had been brought up to it from a boy, his father, as I have heard, accustoming his children to dispute with one another for his diversion, while sitting at table after dinner; but I think the practice was not wise; for, in the course of my observation,

these disputing, contradicting, and confuting people are generally unfortunate in their affairs. They get victory sometimes, but they never get good will, which would be of more use to them. We parted, he going to Philadelphia, and I to Boston.

In returning, I met at New York with the votes of the Assembly, by which it appear'd that, notwithstanding his promise to me, he and the House were already in high contention; and it was a continual battle between them as long as he retain'd the government. I had my share of it; for, as soon as I got back to my seat in the Assembly, I was put on every committee for answering his speeches and messages, and by the committees always desired to make the drafts. Our answers, as well as his messages, were often tart, and sometimes indecently abusive; and, as he knew I wrote for the Assembly, one might have imagined that, when we met, we could hardly avoid cutting throats; but he was so good-natur'd a man that no personal difference between him and me was occasion'd by the contest, and we often din'd together.

One afternoon, in the height of this public quarrel, we met in the street. "Franklin," says he, "you must go home with me and spend the evening; I am to have some company that you will like"; and, taking me by the arm, he led me to his house. In gay conversation over our wine, after supper, he told us, jokingly, that he much admir'd the idea of Sancho Panza, who, when it was proposed to give him a government, requested it might be a government of *blacks,* as then, if he could not agree with his people, he might sell them. One of his friends, who sat next to me, says, "Franklin, why do you continue to side with these damn'd Quakers? Had not you better sell them? The proprietor would give you a good price." "The governor," says I, "has not yet *blacked* them enough." He, indeed, had labored hard to blacken the Assembly in all his messages, but they wip'd off his coloring as fast as he laid it on, and plac'd it, in return, thick upon his own face; so that, finding he was likely to be negrofied himself, he, as well as Mr. Hamilton, grew tir'd of the contest, and quitted the government.

These public quarrels were all at bottom owing to the pro-

prietaries, our hereditary governors, who, when any expense was to be incurred for the defense of their province, with incredible meanness instructed their deputies to pass no act for levying the necessary taxes, unless their vast estates were in the same act expressly excused; and they had even taken bonds of these deputies to observe such instructions. The Assemblies for three years held out against this injustice, tho' constrained to bend at last. At length Captain Denny, who was Governor Morris's successor, ventured to disobey those instructions; how that was brought about I shall show hereafter.

But I am got forward too fast with my story: there are still some transactions to be mention'd that happened during the administration of Governor Morris.

War being in a manner commenced with France, the government of Massachusetts Bay projected an attack upon Crown Point, and sent Mr. Quincy to Pennsylvania, and Mr. Pownall, afterward Governor Pownall, to New York, to solicit assistance. As I was in the Assembly, knew its temper, and was Mr. Quincy's countryman, he appli'd to me for my influence and assistance. I dictated his address to them, which was well receiv'd. They voted an aid of ten thousand pounds, to be laid out in provisions. But the governor refusing his assent to their bill (which included this with other sums granted for the use of the crown), unless a clause were inserted exempting the proprietary estate from bearing any part of the tax that would be necessary, the Assembly, tho' very desirous of making their grant to New England effectual, were at a loss how to accomplish it. Mr. Quincy labored hard with the governor to obtain his assent, but he was obstinate.

I then suggested a method of doing the business without the governor, by orders on the trustees of the Loan Office, which, by law, the Assembly had the right of drawing. There was, indeed, little or no money at that time in the office, and therefore I propos'd that the orders should be payable in a year, and to bear an interest of five per cent. With these orders I suppos'd the provisions might easily be purchas'd. The Assembly, with very little hesitation, adopted the proposal. The orders were immediately printed, and I was one

of the committee directed to sign and dispose of them. The fund for paying them was the interest of all the paper currency then extant in the province upon loan, together with the revenue arising from the excise, which being known to be more than sufficient, they obtain'd instant credit, and were not only receiv'd in payment for the provisions, but many money'd people, who had cash lying by them, vested it in those orders, which they found advantageous, as they bore interest while upon hand, and might on any occasion be used as money; so that they were eagerly all bought up, and in a few weeks none of them were to be seen. Thus this important affair was by my means completed. Mr. Quincy return'd thanks to the Assembly in a handsome memorial, went home highly pleas'd with the success of his embassy, and ever after bore for me the most cordial and affectionate friendship.

The British government, not choosing to permit the union of the colonies as propos'd at Albany, and to trust that union with their defense, lest they should thereby grow too military, and feel their own strength, suspicions and jealousies at this time being entertain'd of them, sent over General Braddock with two regiments of regular English troops for that purpose. He landed at Alexandria, in Virginia, and thence march'd to Frederictown, in Maryland, where he halted for carriages. Our Assembly apprehending, from some information, that he had conceived violent prejudices against them, as averse to the service, wish'd me to wait upon him, not as from them, but as postmaster-general, under the guise of proposing to settle with him the mode of conducting with most celerity and certainty the dispatches between him and the governors of the several provinces, with whom he must necessarily have continual correspondence, and of which they propos'd to pay the expense. My son accompanied me on this journey.

We found the general at Frederictown, waiting impatiently for the return of those he had sent thro' the back parts of Maryland and Virginia to collect wagons. I stayed with him several days, din'd with him daily, and had full opportunity of removing all his prejudices, by the information of what the Assembly had before his arrival actually done, and were still willing to do, to facilitate his operations.

When I was about to depart, the returns of wagons to be obtained were brought in, by which it appear'd that they amounted only to twenty-five, and not all of those were in serviceable condition. The general and all the officers were surpris'd, declar'd the expedition was then at an end, being impossible, and exclaim'd against the ministers for ignorantly landing them in a country destitute of the means of conveying their stores, baggage, etc., not less than one hundred and fifty wagons being necessary.

I happen'd to say I thought it was pity they had not been landed rather in Pennsylvania, as in that country almost every farmer had his wagon. The general eagerly laid hold of my words, and said, "Then you, sir, who are a man of interest there, can probably procure them for us; and I beg you will undertake it." I ask'd what terms were to be offer'd the owners of the wagons; and I was desir'd to put on paper the terms that appeared to me necessary. This I did, and they were agreed to, and a commission and instructions accordingly prepar'd immediately. What those terms were will appear in the advertisement I publish'd as soon as I arriv'd at Lancaster, which being, from the great and sudden effect it produc'd, a piece of some curiosity, I shall insert it at length, as follows:

"ADVERTISEMENT

"LANCASTER, April 26, 1755.

"Whereas, one hundred and fifty wagons, with four horses to each wagon, and fifteen hundred saddle or pack horses, are wanted for the service of his majesty's forces now about to rendezvous at Will's Creek, and his excellency General Braddock having been pleased to empower me to contract for the hire of the same, I hereby give notice that I shall attend for that purpose at Lancaster from this day to next Wednesday evening, and at York from next Thursday morning till Friday evening, where I shall be ready to agree for wagons and teams, or single horses, on the following terms, viz.: 1. That there shall be paid for each wagon, with four good horses and a driver, fifteen shillings per diem; and for each able horse with a pack-saddle, or other saddle and furniture, two shillings per diem; and for each able horse without a saddle,

eighteen pence per diem. 2. That the pay commence from the time of their joining the forces at Will's Creek, which must be on or before the 20th of May ensuing, and that a reasonable allowance be paid over and above for the time necessary for their traveling to Will's Creek and home again after their discharge. 3. Each wagon and team, and every saddle or pack horse, is to be valued by indifferent persons chosen between me and the owner; and in case of the loss of any wagon, team, or other horse in the service, the price according to such valuation is to be allowed and paid. 4. Seven days' pay is to be advanced and paid in hand by me to the owner of each wagon and team, or horse, at the time of contracting, if required, and the remainder to be paid by General Braddock, or by the paymaster of the army, at the time of their discharge, or from time to time, as it shall be demanded. 5. No drivers of wagons, or persons taking care of the hired horses, are on any account to be called upon to do the duty of soldiers, or be otherwise employed than in conducting or taking care of their carriages or horses. 6. All oats, Indian corn, or other forage that wagons or horses bring to the camp, more than is necessary for the subsistence of the horses, is to be taken for the use of the army, and a reasonable price paid for the same.

"Note.—My son, William Franklin, is empowered to enter into like contracts with any person in Cumberland county.

"B. Franklin."

"To the inhabitants of the Counties of Lancaster, York and Cumberland

"Friends and Countrymen,

"Being occasionally at the camp at Frederic a few days since, I found the general and officers extremely exasperated on account of their not being supplied with horses and carriages, which had been expected from this province, as most able to furnish them; but, through the dissensions between our governor and Assembly, money had not been provided, nor any steps taken for that purpose.

"It was proposed to send an armed force immediately into these counties, to seize as many of the best carriages and

horses as should be wanted, and compel as many persons into the service as would be necessary to drive and take care of them.

"I apprehended that the progress of British soldiers through these counties on such an occasion, especially considering the temper they are in, and their resentment against us, would be attended with many and great inconveniences to the inhabitants, and therefore more willingly took the trouble of trying first what might be done by fair and equitable means. The people of these back counties have lately complained to the Assembly that a sufficient currency was wanting; you have an opportunity of receiving and dividing among you a very considerable sum; for, if the service of this expedition should continue, as it is more than probable it will, for one hundred and twenty days, the hire of these wagons and horses will amount to upward of thirty thousand pounds, which will be paid you in silver and gold of the king's lawful money.

"The service will be light and easy, for the army will scarce march above twelve miles per day, and the wagons and baggage-horses, as they carry those things that are absolutely necessary to the welfare of the army, must march with the army, and no faster; and are, for the army's sake, always placed where they can be most secure, whether in a march or in a camp.

"If you are really, as I believe you are, good and loyal subjects to his majesty, you may now do a most acceptable service, and make it easy to yourselves; for three or four of such as cannot separately spare from the business of their plantations a wagon and four horses and a driver, may do it together, one furnishing the wagon, another one or two horses, and another the driver, and divide the pay proportionably between you; but if you do not this service to your king and country voluntarily, when such good pay and reasonable terms are offered to you, your loyalty will be strongly suspected. The king's business must be done; so many brave troops, come so far for your defense, must not stand idle through your backwardness to do what may be reasonably expected from you; wagons and horses must be had; violent measures will probably be used, and you will be left to seek

for a recompense where you can find it, and your case, perhaps, be little pitied or regarded.

"I have no particular interest in this affair, as, except the satisfaction of endeavoring to do good, I shall have only my labor for my pains. If this method of obtaining the wagons and horses is not likely to succeed, I am obliged to send word to the general in fourteen days; and I suppose Sir John St. Clair, the hussar, with a body of soldiers, will immediately enter the province for the purpose, which I shall be sorry to hear, because I am very sincerely and truly your friend and well-wisher,

"B. Franklin."

I received of the general about eight hundred pounds, to be disburs'd in advance-money to the wagon owners, etc.; but that sum being insufficient, I advanc'd upward of two hundred pounds more, and in two weeks the one hundred and fifty wagons, with two hundred and fifty-nine carrying horses, were on their march for the camp. The advertisement promised payment according to the valuation, in case any wagon or horse should be lost. The owners, however, alleging they did not know General Braddock, or what dependence might be had on his promise, insisted on my bond for the performance, which I accordingly gave them.

While I was at the camp, supping one evening with the officers of Colonel Dunbar's regiment, he represented to me his concern for the subalterns, who, he said, were generally not in affluence, and could ill afford, in this dear country, to lay in the stores that might be necessary in so long a march, through a wilderness, where nothing was to be purchas'd. I commiserated their case, and resolved to endeavor procuring them some relief. I said nothing, however, to him of my intention, but wrote the next morning to the committee of the Assembly, who had the disposition of some public money, warmly recommending the case of these officers to their consideration, and proposing that a present should be sent them of necessaries and refreshments. My son, who had some experience of a camp life, and of its wants, drew up a list for me, which I enclos'd in my letter. The committee approv'd, and used such diligence that, conducted by my son, the stores

arrived at the camp as soon as the wagons. They consisted of twenty parcels, each containing

6 lbs. loaf sugar.
6 lbs. good Muscovado do.
1 lb. good green tea.
1 lb. good bohea do.
6 lbs. good ground coffee.
6 lbs. chocolate.
1-2 cwt. best white biscuit.
1-2 lb. pepper.
1 quart best white wine vinegar.
1 Gloucester cheese.
1 keg containing 20 lbs. good butter.
2 doz. old Madeira wine.
2 gallons Jamaica spirits.
1 bottle flour of mustard.
2 well-cur'd hams.
1-2 dozen dry'd tongues.
6 lbs. rice.
6 lbs. raisins.

These twenty parcels, well pack'd, were placed on as many horses, each parcel, with the horse, being intended as a present for one officer. They were very thankfully receiv'd, and the kindness acknowledg'd by letters to me from the colonels of both regiments, in the most grateful terms. The general, too, was highly satisfied with my conduct in procuring him the wagons, etc., and readily paid my account of disbursements, thanking me repeatedly, and requesting my farther assistance in sending provisions after him. I undertook this also, and was busily employ'd in it till we heard of his defeat, advancing for the service of my own money, upwards of one thousand pounds sterling, of which I sent him an account. It came to his hands, luckily for me, a few days before the battle, and he return'd me immediately an order on the paymaster for the round sum of one thousand pounds, leaving the remainder to the next account. I consider this payment as good luck, having never been able to obtain that remainder, of which more hereafter.

This general was, I think, a brave man, and might probably have made a figure as a good officer in some European war. But he had too much self-confidence, too high an opinion of the validity of regular troops, and too mean a one of both Americans and Indians. George Croghan, our Indian interpreter, join'd him on his march with one hundred of those people, who might have been of great use to his army as guides, scouts, etc., if he had treated them kindly; but he slighted and neglected them, and they gradually left him.

In conversation with him one day, he was giving me some account of his intended progress. "After taking Fort Du-

quesne," says he, "I am to proceed to Niagara; and, having taken that, to Frontenac, if the season will allow time; and I suppose it will, for Duquesne can hardly detain me above three or four days; and then I see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara." Having before revolv'd in my mind the long line his army must make in their march by a very narrow road, to be cut for them through the woods and bushes, and also what I had read of a former defeat of fifteen hundred French, who invaded the Iroquois country, I had conceiv'd some doubts and some fears for the event of the campaign. But I ventur'd only to say, "To be sure, sir, if you arrive well before Duquesne, with these fine troops, so well provided with artillery, that place not yet completely fortified, and as we hear with no very strong garrison, can probably make but a short resistance. The only danger I apprehend of obstruction to your march is from ambuscades of Indians, who, by constant practice, are dexterous in laying and executing them; and the slender line, near four miles long, which your army must make, may expose it to be attack'd by surprise in its flanks, and to be cut like a thread into several pieces, which, from their distance, cannot come up in time to support each other."

He smil'd at my ignorance, and reply'd, "These savages may, indeed, be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia, but upon the king's regular and disciplin'd troops, sir, it is impossible they should make any impression." I was conscious of an impropriety in my disputing with a military man in matters of his profession, and said no more. The enemy, however, did not take the advantage of his army which I apprehended its long line of march expos'd it to, but let it advance without interruption till within nine miles of the place; and then, when more in a body (for it had just passed a river, where the front had halted till all were come over), and in a more open part of the woods than any it had pass'd, attack'd its advanced guard by a heavy fire from behind trees and bushes, which was the first intelligence the general had of an enemy's being near him. This guard being disordered, the general hurried the troops up to their assistance, which was done in great confusion, through wagons, baggage, and cattle; and presently the fire came upon their flank: the offi-

cers, being on horseback, were more easily distinguish'd, pick'd out as marks, and fell very fast; and the soldiers were crowded together in a huddle, having or hearing no orders, and standing to be shot at till two-thirds of them were killed; and then, being seiz'd with a panic, the whole fled with precipitation.

The wagoners took each a horse out of his team and scamper'd; their example was immediately followed by others; so that all the wagons, provisions, artillery, and stores were left to the enemy. The general, being wounded, was brought off with difficulty; his secretary, Mr. Shirley, was killed by his side; and out of eighty-six officers, sixty-three were killed or wounded, and seven hundred and fourteen men killed out of eleven hundred. These eleven hundred had been picked men from the whole army; the rest had been left behind with Colonel Dunbar, who was to follow with the heavier part of the stores, provisions, and baggage. The flyers, not being pursu'd, arriv'd at Dunbar's camp, and the panic they brought with them instantly seiz'd him and all his people; and, though he had now above one thousand men, and the enemy who had beaten Braddock did not at most exceed four hundred Indians and French together, instead of proceeding, and endeavoring to recover some of the lost honor, he ordered all the stores, ammunition, etc., to be destroy'd, that he might have more horses to assist his flight towards the settlements, and less lumber to remove. He was there met with requests from the governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, that he would post his troops on the frontier, so as to afford some protection to the inhabitants; but he continu'd his hasty march through all the country, not thinking himself safe till he arriv'd at Philadelphia, where the inhabitants could protect him. This whole transaction gave us Americans the first suspicion that our exalted ideas of the prowess of British regulars had not been well founded.

In their first march, too, from their landing till they got beyond the settlements, they had plundered and stripped the inhabitants, totally ruining some poor families, besides insulting, abusing, and confining the people if they remonstrated. This was enough to put us out of conceit of such defenders, if we had really wanted any. How different was

the conduct of our French friends in 1781, who, during a march through the most inhabited part of our country from Rhode Island to Virginia, near seven hundred miles, occasioned not the smallest complaint for the loss of a pig, a chicken, or even an apple.

Captain Orme, who was one of the general's aids-de-camp, and, being grievously wounded, was brought off with him, and continu'd with him to his death, which happen'd in a few days, told me that he was totally silent all the first day, and at night only said, *"Who would have thought it?"* That he was silent again the following day, saying only at last, *"We shall better know how to deal with them another time";* and dy'd in a few minutes after.

The secretary's papers, with all the general's orders, instructions, and correspondence, falling into the enemy's hands, they selected and translated into French a number of the articles, which they printed, to prove the hostile intentions of the British court before the declaration of war. Among these I saw some letters of the general to the ministry, speaking highly of the great service I had rendered the army, and recommending me to their notice. David Hume, too, who was some years after secretary to Lord Hertford, when minister in France, and afterward to General Conway, when secretary of state, told me he had seen among the papers in that office, letters from Braddock highly recommending me. But, the expedition having been unfortunate, my service, it seems, was not thought of much value, for those recommendations were never of any use to me.

As to rewards from himself, I ask'd only one, which was, that he would give orders to his officers not to enlist any more of our bought servants, and that he would discharge such as had been already enlisted. This he readily granted, and several were accordingly return'd to their masters, on my application. Dunbar, when the command devolv'd on him, was not so generous. He being at Philadelphia, on his retreat, or rather flight, I apply'd to him for the discharge of the servants of three poor farmers of Lancaster county that he had enlisted, reminding him of the late general's orders on that head. He promised me that, if the masters would come to him at Trenton, where he should be in a few days on his

march to New York, he would there deliver their men to them. They accordingly were at the expense and trouble of going to Trenton, and there he refus'd to perform his promise, to their great loss and disappointment.

As soon as the loss of the wagons and horses was generally known, all the owners came upon me for the valuation which I had given bond to pay. Their demands gave me a great deal of trouble, my acquainting them that the money was ready in the paymaster's hands, but that orders for paying it must first be obtained from General Shirley, and my assuring them that I had apply'd to that general by letter; but, he being at a distance, an answer could not soon be receiv'd, and they must have patience, all this was not sufficient to satisfy, and some began to sue me. General Shirley at length relieved me from this terrible situation by appointing commissioners to examine the claims, and ordering payment. They amounted to near twenty thousand pound, which to pay would have ruined me.

Before we had the news of this defeat, the two Doctors Bond came to me with a subscription paper for raising money to defray the expense of a grand firework, which it was intended to exhibit at a rejoicing on receipt of the news of our taking Fort Duquesne. I looked grave, and said it would, I thought, be time enough to prepare for the rejoicing when we knew we should have occasion to rejoice. They seem'd surpris'd that I did not immediately comply with their proposal. "Why the d—l!" says one of them, "you surely don't suppose that the fort will not be taken?" "I don't know that it will not be taken, but I know that the events of war are subject to great uncertainty." I gave them the reasons of my doubting; the subscription was dropped, and the projectors thereby missed the mortification they would have undergone if the firework had been prepared. Dr. Bond, on some other occasion afterward, said that he did not like Franklin's forebodings.

Governor Morris, who had continually worried the Assembly with message after message before the defeat of Braddock, to beat them into the making of acts to raise money for the defense of the province, without taxing, among others, the proprietary estates, and had rejected all their bills for not having such an exempting clause, now redoubled his attacks

with more hope of success, the danger and necessity being greater. The Assembly, however, continu'd firm, believing they had justice on their side, and that it would be giving up an essential right if they suffered the governor to amend their money-bills. In one of the last, indeed, which was for granting fifty thousand pounds, his propos'd amendment was only of a single word. The bill express'd "that all estates, real and personal, were to be taxed, those of the proprietaries *not* excepted." His amendment was, for *not* read *only:* a small, but very material alteration. However, when the news of his disaster reached England, our friends there, whom we had taken care to furnish with all the Assembly's answers to the governor's messages, rais'd a clamor against the proprietaries for their meanness and injustice in giving their governor such instructions; some going so far as to say that, by obstructing the defense of their province, they forfeited their right to it. They were intimidated by this, and sent orders to their receiver-general to add five thousand pounds of their money to whatever sum might be given by the Assembly for such purpose.

This, being notified to the House, was accepted in lieu of their share of a general tax, and a new bill was form'd, with an exempting clause, which passed accordingly. By this act I was appointed one of the commissioners for disposing of the money, sixty thousand pounds. I had been active in modeling the bill and procuring its passage, and had, at the same time, drawn a bill for establishing and disciplining a voluntary militia, which I carried through the House without much difficulty, as care was taken in it to leave the Quakers at their liberty. To promote the association necessary to form the militia, I wrote a dialogue, stating and answering all the objections I could think of to such a militia, which was printed, and had, as I thought, great effect.

While the several companies in the city and country were forming, and learning their exercise, the governor prevail'd with me to take charge of our North-western frontier, which was infested by the enemy, and provide for the defense of the inhabitants by raising troops and building a line of forts. I undertook this military business, though I did not conceive myself well qualified for it. He gave me a commission with

full powers, and a parcel of blank commissions for officers, to be given to whom I thought fit. I had but little difficulty in raising men, having soon five hundred and sixty under my command. My son, who had in the preceding war been an officer in the army rais'd against Canada, was my aid-de-camp, and of great use to me. The Indians had burned Gnadenhut, a village settled by the Moravians, and massacred the inhabitants; but the place was thought a good situation for one of the forts.

In order to march thither, I assembled the companies at Bethlehem, the chief establishment of those people. I was surprised to find it in so good a posture of defense; the destruction of Gnadenhut had made them apprehend danger. The principal buildings were defended by a stockade; they had purchased a quantity of arms and ammunition from New York, and had even plac'd quantities of small paving stones between the windows of their high stone houses, for their women to throw down upon the heads of any Indians that should attempt to force into them. The armed brethren, too, kept watch, and reliev'd as methodically as in any garrison town. In conversation with the bishop, Spangenberg, I mention'd this my surprise; for, knowing they had obtained an act of Parliament exempting them from military duties in the colonies, I had suppos'd they were conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms. He answer'd me that it was not one of their established principles, but that, at the time of their obtaining that act, it was thought to be a principle with many of their people. On this occasion, however, they, to their surprise, found it adopted by but a few. It seems they were either deceiv'd in themselves, or deceiv'd the Parliament; but common sense, aided by present danger, will sometimes be too strong for whimsical opinions.

It was the beginning of January when we set out upon this business of building forts. I sent one detachment toward the Minisink, with instructions to erect one for the security of that upper part of the country, and another to the lower part, with similar instructions; and I concluded to go myself with the rest of my force to Gnadenhut, where a fort was thought more immediately necessary. The Moravians procur'd me five wagons for our tools, stores, baggage, etc.

Just before we left Bethlehem, eleven farmers, who had been driven from their plantations by the Indians, came to me requesting a supply of firearms, that they might go back and fetch off their cattle. I gave them each a gun with suitable ammunition. We had not march'd many miles before it began to rain, and it continued raining all day; there were no habitations on the road to shelter us, till we arriv'd near night at the house of a German, where, and in his barn, we were all huddled together, as wet as water could make us. It was well we were not attack'd in our march, for our arms were of the most ordinary sort, and our men could not keep their gun locks dry. The Indians are dextrous in contrivances for that purpose, which we had not. They met that day the eleven poor farmers above mentioned, and killed ten of them. The one who escap'd inform'd that his and his companions' guns would not go off, the priming being wet with the rain and thus render'd useless.

The next day being fair, we continu'd our march, and arriv'd at the desolated Gnadenhut. There was a saw-mill near, round which were left several piles of boards, with which we soon hutted ourselves; an operation the more necessary at that inclement season, as we had no tents. Our first work was to bury more effectually the dead we found there, who had been half interr'd by the country people.

The next morning our fort was plann'd and mark'd out, the circumference measuring four hundred and fifty-five feet, which would require as many palisades to be made of trees, one with another, of a foot diameter each. Our axes, of which we had seventy, were immediately set to work to cut down trees, and, our men being dextrous in the use of them, great dispatch was made. Seeing the trees fall so fast, I had the curiosity to look at my watch when two men began to cut at a pine; in six minutes they had it upon the ground, and I found it of fourteen inches diameter. Each pine made three palisades of eighteen feet long, pointed at one end. While these were preparing, our other men dug a trench all round, of three feet deep, in which the palisades were to be planted; and, our wagons, the bodies being taken off, and the fore and hind wheels separated by taking out the pin which united the two parts of the perch, we had ten carriages, with two horses

each, to bring the palisades from the woods to the spot. When they were set up, our carpenters built a stage of boards all round within, about six feet high, for the men to stand on when firing through the loopholes. We had one swivel gun, which we mounted on one of the angles, and fir'd it as soon as fix'd, to let the Indians know, if any were within hearing, that we had such pieces; and thus our fort, if such a magnificent name may be given to so miserable a stockade, was finish'd in a week, though it rain'd so hard every other day that the men could not work.

This gave me occasion to observe, that, when men are employ'd, they are best content'd; for on the days they worked they were good-natur'd and cheerful, and, with the consciousness of having done a good day's work, they spent the evening jollily; but on our idle days they were mutinous and quarrelsome, finding fault with their pork, the bread, etc., and in continual ill-humor, which put me in mind of a sea-captain, whose rule it was to keep his men constantly at work; and, when his mate once told him that they had done everything, and there was nothing further to employ them about, *"Oh," says he, "make them scour the anchor."*

This kind of fort, however contemptible, is a sufficient defense against Indians, who have no cannon. Finding ourselves now posted securely, and having a place to retreat to on occasion, we ventur'd out in parties to scour the adjacent country. We met with no Indians, but we found the places on the neighboring hills where they had lain to watch our proceedings. There was an art in their contrivance of those places that seems worth mention. It being winter, a fire was necessary for them; but a common fire on the surface of the ground would by its light have discover'd their position at a distance. They had therefore dug holes in the ground about three feet diameter, and somewhat deeper; we saw where they had with their hatchets cut off the charcoal from the sides of burnt logs lying in the woods. With these coals they had made small fires in the bottom of the holes, and we observ'd among the weeds and grass the prints of their bodies, made by their lying all round, with their legs hanging down in the holes to keep their feet warm, which, with them, is an essential point. This kind of fire, so manag'd, could not dis-

cover them, either by its light, flame, sparks, or even smoke: it appear'd that their number was not great, and it seems they saw we were too many to be attacked by them with prospect of advantage.

We had for our chaplain a zealous Presbyterian minister, Mr. Beatty, who complained to me that the men did not generally attend his prayers and exhortations. When they enlisted, they were promised, besides pay and provisions, a gill of rum a day, which was punctually serv'd out to them, half in the morning, and the other half in the evening; and I observ'd they were as punctual in attending to receive it; upon which I said to Mr. Beatty, "It is, perhaps, below the dignity of your profession to act as steward of the rum, but if you were to deal it out and only just after prayers, you would have them all about you." He liked the thought, undertook the office, and, with the help of a few hands to measure out the liquor, executed it to satisfaction, and never were prayers more generally and more punctually attended; so that I thought this method preferable to the punishment inflicted by some military laws for non-attendance on divine service.

I had hardly finish'd this business, and got my fort well stor'd with provisions, when I receiv'd a letter from the governor, acquainting me that he had call'd the Assembly, and wished my attendance there, if the posture of affairs on the frontiers was such that my remaining there was no longer necessary. My friends, too, of the Assembly, pressing me by their letters to be, if possible, at the meeting, and my three intended forts being now completed, and the inhabitants contented to remain on their farms under that protection, I resolved to return; the more willingly, as a New England officer, Colonel Clapham, experienced in Indian war, being on a visit to our establishment, consented to accept the command. I gave him a commission, and, parading the garrison, had it read before them, and introduc'd him to them as an officer who, from his skill in military affairs, was much more fit to command them than myself; and, giving them a little exhortation, took my leave. I was escorted as far as Bethlehem, where I rested a few days to recover from the fatigue I had undergone. The first night, being in a good bed, I could

hardly sleep, it was so different from my hard lodging on the floor of our hut at Gnadenhut wrapped only in a blanket or two.

While at Bethlehem, I inquir'd a little into the practice of the Moravians: some of them had accompanied me, and all were very kind to me. I found they work'd for a common stock, ate at common tables, and slept in common dormitories, great numbers together. In the dormitories I observed loopholes, at certain distances all along just under the ceiling, which I thought judiciously placed for change of air. I was at their church, where I was entertain'd with good music, the organ being accompanied with violins, hautboys, flutes, clarinets, etc. I understood that their sermons were not usually preached to mixed congregations of men, women, and children, as is our common practice, but that they assembled sometimes the married men, at other times their wives, then the young men, the young women, and the little children, each division by itself. The sermon I heard was to the latter, who came in and were plac'd in rows on benches; the boys under the conduct of a young man, their tutor, and the girls conducted by a young woman. The discourse seem'd well adapted to their capacities, and was deliver'd in a pleasing, familiar manner, coaxing them, as it were, to be good. They behav'd very orderly, but looked pale and unhealthy, which made me suspect they were kept too much within doors, or not allow'd sufficient exercise.

I inquir'd concerning the Moravian marriages, whether the report was true that they were by lot. I was told that lots were us'd only in particular cases; that generally, when a young man found himself dispos'd to marry, he inform'd the elders of his class, who consulted the elder ladies that govern'd the young women. As these elders of the different sexes were well acquainted with the tempers and dispositions of their respective pupils, they could best judge what matches were suitable, and their judgments were generally acquiesc'd in; but if, for example, it should happen that two or three young women were found to be equally proper for the young man, the lot was then recurred to. I objected, if the matches are not made by the mutual choice of the parties, some of them may chance to be very unhappy. "And so they may," an-

swer'd my informer, "if you let the parties choose for themselves;" which, indeed, I could not deny.

Being returned to Philadelphia, I found the association went on swimmingly, the inhabitants that were not Quakers having pretty generally come into it, formed themselves into companies, and chose their captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, according to the new law. Dr. B. visited me, and gave me an account of the pains he had taken to spread a general good liking to the law, and ascribed much to those endeavors. I had had the vanity to ascribe all to my *Dialogue;* however, not knowing but that he might be in the right, I let him enjoy his opinion, which I take to be generally the best way in such cases. The officers, meeting, chose me to be colonel of the regiment, which I this time accepted. I forget how many companies we had, but we paraded about twelve hundred well-looking men, with a company of artillery, who had been furnished with six brass field-pieces, which they had become so expert in the use of as to fire twelve times in a minute. The first time I reviewed my regiment they accompanied me to my house, and would salute me with some rounds fired before my door, which shook down and broke several glasses of my electrical apparatus. And my new honor proved not much less brittle; for all our commissions were soon after broken by a repeal of the law in England.

During this short time of my colonelship, being about to set out on a journey to Virginia, the officers of my regiment took it into their heads that it would be proper for them to escort me out of town, as far as the Lower Ferry. Just as I was getting on horseback they came to my door, between thirty and forty, mounted, and all in their uniforms. I had not been previously acquainted with the project, or I should have prevented it, being naturally averse to the assuming of state on any occasion; and I was a good deal chagrin'd at their appearance, as I could not avoid their accompanying me. What made it worse was, that, as soon as we began to move, they drew their swords and rode with them naked all the way. Somebody wrote an account of this to the proprietor, and it gave him great offense. No such honor had been paid him when in the province, nor to any of his governors; and he said it was only proper to princes of the blood

royal, which may be true for aught I know, who was, and still am, ignorant of the etiquette in such cases.

This silly affair, however, greatly increased his rancor against me, which was before not a little, on account of my conduct in the Assembly respecting the exemption of his estate from taxation, which I had always oppos'd very warmly, and not without severe reflections on his meanness and injustice of contending for it. He accused me to the ministry as being the great obstacle to the king's service, preventing, by my influence in the House, the proper form of the bills for raising money, and he instanced this parade with my officers as a proof of my having an intention to take the government of the province out of his hands by force. He also applied to Sir Everard Fawkener, the postmaster-general, to deprive me of my office; but it had no other effect than to procure from Sir Everard a gentle admonition.

Notwithstanding the continual wrangle between the governor and the House, in which I, as a member, had so large a share, there still subsisted a civil intercourse between that gentleman and myself, and we never had any personal difference. I have sometimes since thought that his little or no resèntment against me, for the answers it was known I drew up to his messages, might be the effect of professional habit, and that, being bred a lawyer, he might consider us both as merely advocates for contending clients in a suit, he for the proprietaries and I for the Assembly. He would, therefore, sometimes call in a friendly way to advise with me on difficult points, and sometimes, though not often, take my advice.

We acted in concert to supply Braddock's army with provisions; and, when the shocking news arrived of his defeat, the governor sent in haste for me, to consult with him on measures for preventing the desertion of the back counties. I forget now the advice I gave; but I think it was, that Dunbar should be written to, and prevail'd with, if possible, to post his troops on the frontiers for their protection, till, by reënforcements from the colonies, he might be able to proceed on the expedition. And, after my return from the frontier, he would have had me undertake the conduct of such an expedition with provincial troops, for the reduction of Fort Duquesne, Dunbar and his men being otherwise employed;

and he proposed to commission me as general. I had not so good an opinion of my military abilities as he profess'd to have, and I believe his professions must have exceeded his real sentiments; but probably he might think that my popularity would facilitate the raising of the men, and my influence in Assembly, the grant of money to pay them, and that, perhaps, without taxing the proprietary estate. Finding me not so forward to engage as he expected, the project was dropped, and he soon after left the government, being superseded by Captain Denny.

Before I proceed in relating the part I had in public affairs under this new governor's administration, it may not be amiss here to give some account of the rise and progress of my philosophical reputation.

In 1746, being at Boston, I met there with a Dr. Spence, who was lately arrived from Scotland, and show'd me some electric experiments. They were imperfectly perform'd, as he was not very expert; but, being on a subject quite new to me, they equally surpris'd and pleased me. Soon after my return to Philadelphia, our library company receiv'd from Mr. P. Collinson, Fellow of the Royal Society of London, a present of a glass tube, with some account of the use of it in making such experiments. I eagerly seized the opportunity of repeating what I had seen at Boston; and, by much practice, acquir'd great readiness in performing those, also, which we had an account of from England, adding a number of new ones. I say much practice, for my house was continually full, for some time, with people who came to see these new wonders.

To divide a little this encumbrance among my friends, I caused a number of similar tubes to be blown at our glass-house, with which they furnish'd themselves, so that we had at length several performers. Among these, the principal was Mr. Kinnersley, an ingenious neighbor, who, being out of business, I encouraged to undertake showing the experiments for money, and drew up for him two lectures, in which the experiments were rang'd in such order, and accompanied with such explanations in such method, as that the foregoing should assist in comprehending the following. He procur'd an elegant apparatus for the purpose, in which all the little

machines that I had roughly made for myself were nicely form'd by instrument-makers. His lectures were well attended, and gave great satisfaction; and after some time he went through the colonies, exhibiting them in every capital town, and pick'd up some money. In the West India islands, indeed, it was with difficulty the experiments could be made, from the general moisture of the air.

Oblig'd as we were to Mr. Collinson for his present of the tube, etc., I thought it right he should be inform'd of our success in using it, and wrote him several letters containing accounts of our experiments. He got them read in the Royal Society, where they were not at first thought worth so much notice as to be printed in their Transactions. One paper, which I wrote for Mr. Kinnersley, on the sameness of lightning with electricity, I sent to Dr. Mitchel, an acquaintance of mine, and one of the members also of that society, who wrote me word that it had been read, but was laughed at by the connoisseurs. The papers, however, being shown to Dr. Fothergill, he thought them of too much value to be stifled, and advis'd the printing of them. Mr. Collinson then gave them to *Cave* for publication in his Gentleman's Magazine; but he chose to print them separately in a pamphlet, and Dr. Fothergill wrote the preface. Cave, it seems, judged rightly for his profit, for by the additions that arrived afterward they swell'd, to a quarto volume, which has had five editions, and cost him nothing for copy-money.

It was, however, some time before those papers were much taken notice of in England. A copy of them happening to fall into the hands of the Count de Buffon, a philosopher deservedly of great reputation in France, and, indeed, all over Europe, he prevailed with M. Dalibard to translate them into French, and they were printed at Paris. The publication offended the Abbé Nollet, preceptor in Natural Philosophy to the royal family, and an able experimenter, who had form'd and publish'd a theory of electricity, which then had the general vogue. He could not at first believe that such a work came from America, and said it must have been fabricated by his enemies at Paris, to decry his system. Afterwards, having been assur'd that there really existed such a person as Franklin at Philadelphia, which he had

doubted, he wrote and published a volume of Letters, chiefly address'd to me, defending his theory, and denying the verity of my experiments, and of the positions deduc'd from them.

I once purpos'd answering the abbé, and actually began the answer; but, on consideration that my writings contain'd a description of experiments which any one might repeat and verify, and if not to be verifi'd, could not be defended; or of observations offer'd as conjectures, and not delivered dogmatically, therefore not laying me under any obligation to defend them; and reflecting that a dispute between two persons, writing in different languages, might be lengthened greatly by mistranslations, and thence misconceptions of one another's meaning, much of one of the abbé's letters being founded on an error in the translation, I concluded to let my papers shift for themselves, believing it was better to spend what time I could spare from public business in making new experiments, than in disputing about those already made. I therefore never answered M. Nollet, and the event gave me no cause to repent my silence, for my friend M. le Roy, of the Royal Academy of Sciences, took up my cause and refuted him; my book was translated into the Italian, German, and Latin languages; and the doctrine it contain'd was by degrees universally adopted by the philosophers of Europe, in preference to that of the abbé; so that he lived to see himself the last of his sect, except Monsieur B——, of Paris, his *élève* and immediate disciple.

What gave my book the more sudden and general celebrity, was the success of one of its proposed experiments, made by Messrs. Dalibard and De Lor at Marly, for drawing lightning from the clouds. This engag'd the public attention everywhere. M. de Lor, who had an apparatus for experimental philosophy, and lectur'd in that branch of science, undertook to repeat what he called the *Philadelphia Experiments;* and, after they were performed before the king and court, all the curious of Paris flocked to see them. I will not swell this narrative with an account of that capital experiment, nor of the infinite pleasure I receiv'd in the success of a similar one I made soon after with a kite at Philadelphia, as both are to be found in the histories of electricity.

Dr. Wright, an English physician, when at Paris, wrote

to a friend, who was of the Royal Society, an account of the high esteem my experiments were in among the learned abroad, and of their wonder that my writings had been so little noticed in England. The society, on this, resum'd the consideration of the letters that had been read to them; and the celebrated Dr. Watson drew up a summary account of them, and of all I had afterwards sent to England on the subject, which he accompanied with some praise of the writer. This summary was then printed in their Transactions; and some members of the society in London, particularly the very ingenious Mr. Canton, having verified the experiment of procuring lightning from the clouds by a pointed rod, and acquainting them with the success, they soon made me more than amends for the slight with which they had before treated me. Without my having made any application for that honor, they chose me a member, and voted that I should be excus'd the customary payments, which would have amounted to twenty-five guineas; and ever since have given me their Transactions gratis. They also presented me with the gold medal of Sir Godfrey Copley for the year 1753, the delivery of which was accompanied by a very handsome speech of the president, Lord Macclesfield, wherein I was highly honored.

Our new governor, Captain Denny, brought over for me the before-mentioned medal from the Royal Society, which he presented to me at an entertainment given him by the city. He accompanied it with very polite expressions of his esteem for me, having, as he said, been long acquainted with my character. After dinner, when the company, as was customary at that time, were engag'd in drinking, he took me aside into another room, and acquainted me that he had been advis'd by his friends in England to cultivate a friendship with me, as one who was capable of giving him the best advice, and of contributing most effectually to the making his administration easy; that he therefore desired of all things to have a good understanding with me, and he begg'd me to be assur'd of his readiness on all occasions to render me every service that might be in his power. He said much to me, also, of the proprietor's good disposition towards the province, and of the advantage it might be to us all, and to me in particular, if the opposition that had been so long continu'd

to his measures was dropt, and harmony restor'd between him and the people; in effecting which, it was thought no one could be more serviceable than myself; and I might depend on adequate acknowledgments and recompenses, etc., etc. The drinkers, finding we did not return immediately to the table, sent us a decanter of Madeira, which the governor made liberal use of, and in proportion became more profuse of his solicitations and promises.

My answers were to this purpose: that my circumstances, thanks to God, were such as to make proprietary favors unnecessary to me; and that, being a member of the Assembly, I could not possibly accept of any; that, however, I had no personal enmity to the proprietary, and that, whenever the public measures he propos'd should appear to be for the good of the people, no one should espouse and forward them more zealously than myself; my past opposition having been founded on this, that the measures which had been urged were evidently intended to serve the proprietary interest, with great prejudice to that of the people; that I was much obliged to him (the governor) for his professions of regard to me, and that he might rely on everything in my power to make his administration as easy as possible, hoping at the same time that he had not brought with him the same unfortunate instruction his predecessor had been hamper'd with.

On this he did not then explain himself; but when he afterwards came to do business with the Assembly, they appear'd again, the disputes were renewed, and I was as active as ever in the opposition, being the penman, first, of the request to have a communication of the instructions, and then of the remarks upon them, which may be found in the votes of the time, and in the Historical Review I afterward publish'd. But between us personally no enmity arose; we were often together; he was a man of letters, had seen much of the world, and was very entertaining and pleasing in conversation. He gave me the first information that my old friend Jas. Ralph was still alive; that he was esteem'd one of the best political writers in England; had been employ'd in the dispute between Prince Frederic and the king, and had obtain'd a pension of three hundred a year; that his reputa-

tion was indeed small as a poet, Pope having damned his poetry in the Dunciad; but his prose was thought as good as any man's.

The Assembly finally finding the proprietary obstinately persisted in manacling their deputies with instructions inconsistent not only with the privileges of the people, but with the service of the crown, resolv'd to petition the king against them, and appointed me their agent to go over to England, to present and support the petition. The House had sent up a bill to the governor, granting a sum of sixty thousand pounds for the king's use (ten thousand pounds of which was subjected to the orders of the then general, Lord Loudoun), which the governor absolutely refus'd to pass, in compliance with his instructions.

I had agreed with Captain Morris, of the paquet at New York, for my passage, and my stores were put on board, when Lord Loudoun arriv'd at Philadelphia, expressly, as he told me, to endeavor an accommodation between the governor and Assembly, that his majesty's service might not be obstructed by their dissensions. Accordingly, he desir'd the governor and myself to meet him, that he might hear what was to be said on both sides. We met and discuss'd the business. In behalf of the Assembly, I urg'd all the various arguments that may be found in the public papers of that time, which were of my writing, and are printed with the minutes of the Assembly; and the governor pleaded his instructions; the bond he had given to observe them, and his ruin if he disobey'd, yet seemed not unwilling to hazard himself if Lord Loudoun would advise it. This his lordship did not choose to do, though I once thought I had nearly prevail'd with him to do it; but finally he rather chose to urge the compliance of the Assembly; and he entreated me to use my endeavors with them for that purpose, declaring that he would spare none of the king's troops for the defense of our frontiers, and that, if we did not continue to provide for that defense ourselves, they must remain expos'd to the enemy.

I acquainted the House with what had pass'd, and, presenting them with a set of resolutions I had drawn up, declaring our rights, and that we did not relinquish our claim

to those rights, but only suspended the exercise of them on this occasion thro' *force,* against which we protested, they at length agreed to drop that bill, and frame another conformable to the proprietary instructions. This of course the governor pass'd, and I was then at liberty to proceed on my voyage. But, in the meantime, the paquet had sailed with my sea-stores, which was some loss to me, and my only recompense was his lordship's thanks for my service, all the credit of obtaining the accommodation falling to his share.

He set out for New York before me; and, as the time for dispatching the paquet-boats was at his disposition, and there were two then remaining there, one of which, he said, was to sail very soon, I requested to know the precise time, that I might not miss her by any delay of mine. His answer was, "I have given out that she is to sail on Saturday next; but I may let you know, *entre nous,* that if you are there by Monday morning, you will be in time, but do not delay longer." By some accidental hindrance at a ferry, it was Monday noon before I arrived, and I was much afraid she might have sailed, as the wind was fair; but I was soon made easy by the information that she was still in the harbor, and would not move till the next day. One would imagine that I was now on the very point of departing for Europe. I thought so; but I was not then so well acquainted with his lordship's character, of which *indecision* was one of the strongest features. I shall give some instances. It was about the beginning of April that I came to New York, and I think it was near the end of June before we sail'd. There were then two of the paquet-boats, which had been long in port, but were detained for the general's letters, which were always to be ready to-morrow. Another paquet arriv'd; she too was detain'd; and, before we sail'd, a fourth was expected. Ours was the first to be dispatch'd, as having been there longest. Passengers were engag'd in all, and some extremely impatient to be gone, and the merchants uneasy about their letters, and the orders they had given for insurance (it being war time) for fall goods; but their anxiety avail'd nothing; his lordship's letters were not ready; and yet whoever waited on him found him always at his desk, pen in hand, and concluded he must needs write abundantly.

Going myself one morning to pay my respects, I found in his antechamber one Innis, a messenger of Philadelphia, who had come from thence express with a paquet from Governor Denny for the General. He delivered to me some letters from my friends there, which occasion'd my inquiring when he was to return, and where he lodg'd, that I might send some letters by him. He told me he was order'd to call to-morrow at nine for the general's answer to the governor, and should set off immediately. I put my letters into his hands the same day. A fortnight after I met him again in the same place. "So, you are soon return'd, Innis?" *"Return'd! no, I am not gone yet."* "How so?" "I have called here by order every morning these two weeks past for his lordship's letter, and it is not yet ready." "Is it possible, when he is so great a writer? for I see him constantly at his escritoire." "Yes," says Innis, "but he is like St. George on the signs, *always on horseback, and never rides on."* This observation of the messenger was, it seems, well founded; for, when in England, I understood that Mr. Pitt gave it as one reason for removing this general, and sending Generals Amherst and Wolfe, *that the minister never heard from him, and could not know what he was doing.*

This daily expectation of sailing, and all the three paquets going down to Sandy Hook, to join the fleet there, the passengers thought it best to be on board, lest by a sudden order the ships should sail, and they be left behind. There, if I remember right, we were about six weeks, consuming our sea-stores, and oblig'd to procure more. At length the fleet sail'd, the General and all his army on board, bound to Louisburg, with intent to besiege and take that fortress; all the paquet-boats in company ordered to attend the General's ship, ready to receive his dispatches when they should be ready. We were out five days before we got a letter with leave to part, and then our ship quitted the fleet and steered for England. The other two paquets he still detained, carried them with him to Halifax, where he stayed some time to exercise the men in sham attacks upon sham forts, then alter'd his mind as to besieging Louisburg, and return'd to New York, with all his troops, together with the two paquets above mentioned, and all their passengers! During his ab-

sence the French and savages had taken Fort George, on the frontier of that province, and the savages had massacred many of the garrison after capitulation.

I saw afterwards in London Captain Bonnell, who commanded one of those paquets. He told me that, when he had been detain'd a month, he acquainted his lordship that his ship was grown foul, to a degree that must necessarily hinder her fast sailing, a point of consequence for a paquet-boat, and requested an allowance of time to heave her down and clean her bottom. He was asked how long time that would require. He answer'd, three days. The general replied, "If you can do it in one day, I give leave; otherwise not; for you must certainly sail the day after to-morrow." So he never obtain'd leave, though detained afterwards from day to day during full three months.

I saw also in London one of Bonnell's passengers, who was so enrag'd against his lordship for deceiving and detaining him so long at New York, and then carrying him to Halifax and back again, that he swore he would sue him for damages. Whether he did or not, I never heard; but, as he represented the injury to his affairs, the loss must have been very considerable.

On the whole, I wonder'd much how such a man came to be intrusted with so important a business as the conduct of a great army; but, having since seen more of the great world, and the means of obtaining, and motives for giving places, my wonder is diminished. General Shirley, on whom the command of the army devolved upon the death of Braddock, would, in my opinion, if continued in place, have made a much better campaign than that of Loudoun in 1757, which was frivolous, expensive, and disgraceful to our nation beyond conception; for, tho' Shirley was not a bred soldier, he was sensible and sagacious in himself, and attentive to good advice from others, capable of forming judicious plans, and quick and active in carrying them into execution. Loudoun, instead of defending the colonies with his great army, left them totally expos'd while he paraded idly at Halifax, by which means Fort George was lost, besides, he derang'd all our mercantile operations, and distress'd our trade, by a long embargo on the exportation of provi-

sions, on pretense of keeping supplies from being obtain'd by the enemy, but in reality for beating down their price in favor of the contractors, in whose profits, it was said, perhaps from suspicion only, he had a share. And, when at length the embargo was taken off, by neglecting to send notice of it to Charleston, the Carolina fleet was detain'd near three months longer, whereby their bottoms were so much damaged by the worm that a great part of them foundered in their passage home.

Shirley was, I believe, sincerely glad of being relieved from so burdensome a charge as the conduct of an army must be to a man unacquainted with military business. I was at the entertainment given by the city of New York to Lord Loudoun, on his taking upon him the command. Shirley, tho' thereby superseded, was present also. There was a great company of officers, citizens, and strangers, and, some chairs having been borrowed in the neighborhood, there was one among them very low, which fell to the lot of Mr. Shirley. Perceiving it as I sat by him, I said, "They have given you, sir, too low a seat." "No matter," says he, "Mr. Franklin, I find *a low seat* the easiest."

While I was, as afore mention'd, detain'd at New York, I receiv'd all the accounts of the provisions, etc., that I had furnish'd to Braddock, some of which accounts could not sooner be obtain'd from the different persons I had employ'd to assist in the business. I presented them to Lord Loudoun, desiring to be paid the balance. He caus'd them to be regularly examined by the proper officer, who, after comparing every article with its voucher, certified them to be right; and the balance due for which his lordship promis'd to give me an order on the paymaster. This was, however, put off from time to time; and, tho' I call'd often for it by appointment, I did not get it. At length, just before my departure, he told me he had, on better consideration, concluded not to mix his accounts with those of his predecessors. "And you," says he, "when in England, have only to exhibit your accounts at the treasury, and you will be paid immediately."

I mention'd, but without effect, the great and unexpected expense I had been put to by being detain'd so long at New

York, as a reason for my desiring to be presently paid; and on my observing that it was not right I should be put to any further trouble or delay in obtaining the money I had advanc'd, as I charged no commission for my service, "O, Sir," says he, "you must not think of persuading us that you are no gainer; we understand better those affairs, and know that every one concerned in supplying the army finds means, in the doing it, to fill his own pockets." I assur'd him that was not my case, and that I had not pocketed a farthing; but he appear'd clearly not to believe me; and indeed, I have since learn'd that immense fortunes are often made in such employments. As to my balance, I am not paid it to this day, of which more hereafter.

Our captain of the paquet had boasted much, before we sailed, of the swiftness of his ship; unfortunately, when we came to sea, she proved the dullest of ninety-six sail, to his no small mortification. After many conjectures respecting the cause, when we were near another ship almost as dull as ours, which, however, gain'd upon us, the captan ordered all hands to come aft, and stand as near the ensign staff as possible. We were, passengers included, about forty persons. While we stood there, the ship mended her pace, and soon left her neighbor far behind, which prov'd clearly what our captain suspected, that she was loaded too much by the head. The casks of water, it seems, had been all plac'd forward; these he therefore order'd to be mov'd further aft, on which the ship recover'd her character, and proved the sailer in the fleet.

The captain said she had once gone at the rate of thirteen knots, which is accounted thirteen miles per hour. We had on board, as a passenger, Captain Kennedy, of the Navy, who contended that it was impossible, and that no ship ever sailed so fast, and that there must have been some error in the division of the log-line, or some mistake in heaving the log. A wager ensu'd between the two captains, to be decided when there should be sufficient wind. Kennedy thereupon examin'd rigorously the log-line, and, being satisfi'd with that, he determin'd to throw the log himself. Accordingly some days after, when the wind blew very fair and fresh, and the captain of the paquet, Lutwidge, said he believ'd she then

went at the rate of thirteen knots, Kennedy made the experiment, and own'd his wager lost.

The above fact I give for the sake of the following observation. It has been remark'd, as an imperfection in the art of ship-building, that it can never be known, till she is tried, whether a new ship will or will not be a good sailer; for that the model of a good-sailing ship has been exactly follow'd in a new one, which has prov'd, on the contrary, remarkably dull. I apprehend that this may partly be occasion'd by the different opinions of seamen respecting the modes of lading, rigging, and sailing of a ship; each has his system; and the same vessel, laden by the judgment and orders of one captain, shall sail better or worse than when by the orders of another. Besides, it scarce ever happens that a ship is form'd, fitted for the sea, and sail'd by the same person. One man builds the hull, another rigs her, a third lades and sails her. No one of these has the advantage of knowing all the ideas and experience of the others, and, therefore, can not draw just conclusions from a combination of the whole.

Even in the simple operation of sailing when at sea, I have often observ'd different judgments in the officers who commanded the successive watches, the wind being the same. One would have the sails trimm'd sharper or flatter than another, so that they seem'd to have no certain rule to govern by. Yet I think a set of experiments might be instituted, first, to determine the most proper form of the hull for swift sailing; next, the best dimensions and properest place for the masts; then the form and quantity of sails, and their position, as the wind may be; and, lastly, the disposition of the lading. This is an age of experiments, and I think a set accurately made and combin'd would be of great use. I am persuaded, therefore, that ere long some ingenious philosopher will undertake it, to whom I wish success.

We were several times chas'd in our passage, but outsail'd everything, and in thirty days had soundings. We had a good observation, and the captain judg'd himself so near our port, Falmouth, that, if we made a good run in the night, we might be off the mouth of that harbor in the morning, and by running in the night might escape the notice of the

enemy's privateers, who often cruis'd near the entrance of the channel. Accordingly, all the sail was set that we could possibly make, and the wind being very fresh and fair, we went right before it, and made great way. The captain, after his observation, shap'd his course, as he thought, so as to pass wide of the Scilly Isles; but it seems there is sometimes a strong indraught setting up St. George's Channel, which deceives seamen and caused the loss of Sir Cloudesley Shovel's squadron. This indraught was probably the cause of what happened to us.

We had a watchman plac'd in the bow, to whom they often called, *"Look well out before there,"* and he as often answered, *"Ay, ay"*; but perhaps had his eyes shut, and was half asleep at the time, they sometimes answering, as is said, mechanically; for he did not see a light just before us, which had been hid by the studding-sails from the man at the helm, and from the rest of the watch, but by an accidental yaw of the ship was discover'd, and occasion'd a great alarm, we being very near it, the light appearing to me as big as a cart-wheel. It was midnight, and our captain fast asleep; but Captain Kennedy, jumping upon deck, and seeing the danger, ordered the ship to wear round, all sails standing; an operation dangerous to the masts, but it carried us clear, and we escaped shipwreck, for we were running right upon the rocks on which the light-house was erected. This deliverance impressed me strongly with the utility of light-houses, and made me resolve to encourage the building more of them in America, if I should live to return there.

In the morning it was found by the soundings, etc., that we were near our port, but a thick fog hid the land from our sight. About nine o'clock the fog began to rise, and seem'd to be lifted up from the water like the curtain at a play-house, discovering underneath, the town of Falmouth, the vessels in its harbor, and the fields that surrounded it. This was a most pleasing spectacle to those who had been so long without any other prospects than the uniform view of a vacant ocean, and it gave us the more pleasure as we were now free from the anxieties which the state of war occasion'd.

I set out immediately, with my son, for London, and we only stopt a little by the way to view Stonehenge on Salis-

bury Plain, and Lord Pembroke's house and gardens, with his very curious antiquities at Wilton. We arrived at London the 27th of July, 1757.

A LATER ADDITION, WRITTEN PROBABLY IN THE YEAR OF FRANKLIN'S DEATH

As soon as I was settled in a lodging Mr. Charles had provided for me, I went to visit Dr. Fothergill, to whom I was strongly recommended, and whose counsel respecting my proceedings I was advis'd to obtain. He was against an immediate complaint to government, and thought the proprietaries should first be personally appli'd to, who might possibly be induc'd by the interposition and persuasion of some private friends, to accommodate matters amicably. I then waited on my old friend and correspondent, Mr. Peter Collinson, who told me that John Hanbury, the great Virginia merchant, had requested to be informed when I should arrive, that he might carry me to Lord Granville's, who was then President of the Council and wished to see me as soon as possible. I agreed to go with him the next morning. Accordingly Mr. Hanbury called for me and took me in his carriage to that nobleman's, who receiv'd me with great civility; and after some questions respecting the present state of affairs in America and discourse thereupon, he said to me: "You Americans have wrong ideas of the nature of your constitution; you contend that the king's instructions to his governors are not laws, and think yourselves at liberty to regard or disregard them at your own discretion. But those instructions are not like the pocket instructions given to a minister going abroad, for regulating his conduct in some trifling point of ceremony. They are first drawn up by judges learned in the laws; they are then considered, debated, and perhaps amended in Council, after which they are signed by the king. They are then, so far as they relate to you, the *law of the land,* for the king is the LEGISLATOR OF THE COLONIES." I told his lordship this was new doctrine to me. I had always understood from our charters that our laws were to be made by our Assemblies, to be presented indeed to the king for his royal assent, but that being once given the king could not repeal or alter them. And

as the Assemblies could not make permanent laws without his assent, so neither could he make a law for them without theirs. He assur'd me I was totally mistaken. I did not think so, however, and his lordship's conversation having a little alarm'd me as to what might be the sentiments of the court concerning us, I wrote it down as soon as I return'd to my lodgings. I recollected that about 20 years before, a clause in a bill brought into Parliament by the ministry had propos'd to make the king's instructions laws in the colonies, but the clause was thrown out by the Commons, for which we adored them as our friends and friends of liberty, till by their conduct towards us in 1765 it seem'd that they had refus'd that point of sovereignty to the king only that they might reserve it for themselves.

After some days, Dr. Fothergill having spoken to the proprietaries, they agreed to a meeting with me at Mr. T. Penn's house in Spring Garden. The conversation at first consisted of mutual declarations of disposition to reasonable accommodations, but I suppose each party had its own ideas of what should be meant by *reasonable.* We then went into consideration of our several points of complaint, which I enumerated. The proprietaries justify'd their conduct as well as they could, and I the Assembly's. We now appeared very wide, and so far from each other in our opinions as to discourage all hope of agreement. However, it was concluded that I should give them the heads of our complaints in writing, and they promis'd then to consider them. I did so soon after, but they put the paper into the hands of their solicitor, Ferdinand John Paris, who managed for them all their law business in their great suit with the neighboring proprietary of Maryland, Lord Baltimore, which had subsisted 70 years, and wrote for them all their papers and messages in their dispute with the Assembly. He was a proud, angry man, and as I had occasionally in the answers of the Assembly treated his papers with some severity, they being really weak in point of argument and haughty in expression, he had conceived a mortal enmity to me, which discovering itself whenever we met, I declin'd the proprietary's proposal that he and I should discuss the heads of complaint between our two selves, and refus'd treating with any one

but them. They then by his advice put the paper into the hands of the Attorney and Solicitor-General for their opinion and counsel upon it, where it lay unanswered a year wanting eight days, during which time I made frequent demands of an answer from the proprietaries, but without obtaining any other than that they had not yet received the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor-General. What it was when they did receive it I never learned, for they did not communicate it to me, but sent a long message to the Assembly drawn and signed by Paris, reciting my paper, complaining of its want of formality, as a rudeness on my part, and giving a flimsy justification of their conduct, adding that they should be willing to accommodate matters if the Assembly would send out *some person of candor* to treat with them for that purpose, intimating thereby that I was not such.

The want of formality or rudeness was, probably, my not having address'd the paper to them with their assum'd titles of True and Absolute Proprietaries of the Province of Pennsylvania, which I omitted as not thinking it necessary in a paper, the intention of which was only to reduce to a certainty by writing, what in conversation I had delivered *viva voce.*

But during this delay, the Assembly having prevailed with Gov'r Denny to pass an act taxing the proprietary estate in common with the estates of the people, which was the grand point in dispute, they omitted answering the message.

When this act however came over, the proprietaries, counseled by Paris, determined to oppose its receiving the royal assent. Accordingly they petition'd the king in Council, and a hearing was appointed in which two lawyers were employ'd by them against the act, and two by me in support of it. They alleg'd that the act was intended to load the proprietary estate in order to spare those of the people, and that if it were suffer'd to continue in force, and the proprietaries who were in odium with the people, left to their mercy in proportioning the taxes, they would inevitably be ruined. We repli'd that the act had no such intention, and would have no such effect. That the assessors were honest and discreet men under an oath to assess fairly and equitably, and that any advantage each of them might expect in lessening

his own tax by augmenting that of the proprietaries was too trifling to induce them to perjure themselves. This is the purport of what I remember as urged by both sides, except that we insisted strongly on the mischievous consequences that must attend a repeal, for that the money, £100,000, being printed and given to the king's use, expended in his service, and now spread among the people, the repeal would strike it dead in their hands to the ruin of many, and the total discouragement of future grants, and the selfishness of the proprietors in soliciting such a general catastrophe, merely from a groundless fear of their estate being taxed too highly, was insisted on in the strongest terms. On this, Lord Mansfield, one of the counsel rose, and beckoning me took me into the clerk's chamber, while the lawyers were pleading, and asked me if I was really of opinion that no injury would be done the proprietary estate in the execution of the act. I said certainly. "Then," says he, "you can have little objection to enter into an engagement to assure that point." I answer'd, "None at all." He then call'd in Paris, and after some discourse, his lordship's proposition was accepted on both sides; a paper to the purpose was drawn up by the Clerk of the Council, which I sign'd with Mr. Charles, who was also an Agent of the Province for their ordinary affairs, when Lord Mansfield returned to the Council Chamber, where finally the law was allowed to pass. Some changes were however recommended and we also engaged they should be made by a subsequent law, but the Assembly did not think them necessary; for one year's tax having been levied by the act before the order of Council arrived, they appointed a committee to examine the proceedings of the assessors, and on this committee they put several particular friends of the proprietaries. After a full inquiry, they unanimously sign'd a report that they found the tax had been assess'd with perfect equity.

The Assembly looked into my entering into the first part of the engagement, as an essential service to the Province, since it secured the credit of the paper money then spread over all the country. They gave me their thanks in form when I return'd. But the proprietaries were enraged at Governor Denny for having pass'd the act, and turn'd him out with

threats of suing him for breach of instructions which he had given bond to observe. He, however, having done it at the instance of the General, and for His Majesty's service, and having some powerful interest at court, despis'd the threats and they were never put in execution. . . . [Unfinished.]

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